JUN 13 1952

Jim Crow, M.D.—*Robert M. Cunningham, Jr.*

THE *Nation*

June 7, 1952

Another View of Ike

BY JOSEPH C. HARSCH

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France's Fatal Indecision

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

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Freedom's Stake in North Africa and the Middle East

A Report on the Nation Associates Conference

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Berkeley's Example

Berkeley, California

DENIED the use of a public auditorium in San Francisco and Oakland, the Negro Labor Council, seeking a hall for a Paul Robeson concert, requested the Berkeley Board of Education for permission to use the magnificent new Berkeley Community Theater. On May 6 the board met to vote on the request. Mrs. Eileen Ready, chairman, and member A. K. Sackett voted "no" on the ground that to permit the noted singer to appear in the school auditorium would be "giving support to communism which we are fighting in Korea." But three members of the board voted "yes": Mayor Laurence L. Cross, who is also minister of a local community church; Mrs. Mildred Brown, and David P. Smith, active Republican, who laid down the sole condition—which the Negro Labor Council was glad to meet—that no political speeches be made at the concert.

The majority vote in favor of permitting Robeson to appear created a city-wide furor. Hundreds of letters supporting the majority decision were sent to board members and to the press; on the other hand, veterans' and other patriotic organizations publicly attacked the three who had voted favorably. J. Frank Coakley, district attorney of Alameda County, warned: "If Mr. Robeson were to appear in a public school building, it is possible that a disturbance might occur that would result in injury to persons and damage to property for which your school district and the city of Berkeley would be liable." But Mayor Cross replied that he had full confidence in the ability of the Berkeley police to maintain order, and Police Chief John Holstrom added that his men would carry out their responsibility to "maintain public peace and prevent injury."

In response to pressure, Mrs. Ready, as chairman of the board, called a special open meeting for May 10 to review the case. More than 1,200 Berkeley citizens crowded into the board chamber to participate in the proceedings.

The first item on the agenda was the reading of a letter from the district attorney which said, in part: "Your board could reconsider the matter and rescind Tuesday night's action whereby the application was granted. . . . It is common knowledge that Mr. Robeson has made certain inflammatory and highly provocative remarks and that his appearance in other parts of the country have precipitated riots and disturbances of the peace."

Members of the board then made public statements explaining their position. It was clear that no member had as yet changed his mind. Mayor Cross commented forcefully on the district attorney's letter. "I consider this letter as one which is inciting to riot. I have full confidence in the ability of the police to maintain order. Paul Robeson appeared in a concert in San Francisco only a few months after the Peekskill [New York] trouble and there was less disturbance than there would be at a Presbyterian prayer meeting."

David P. Smith asked the audience to indicate by show of hands how they stood on the majority decision to grant Robeson the hall. The vote was at least four-to-one in favor. Smith then said:

> I am concerned over the spread of communism, but I do not believe we can stop it by such action as those of you in the opposition would have us take. Since World War II 600,000,000 people have been won over by the Communists without the Red Army having fired a single shot. There are still hundreds of millions wavering. . . . We cannot win this fight by guns or bullets. . . .
>
> Why then are the Russians winning this battle for the hearts and minds of people? One of the major factors is that although we preach freedom regardless of race, color, or creed, unfortunately we do not always practice it. . . . If we turn down this noted singer, the action would be proof to the people of India and Indo-China, even to minority groups here, that Paul Robeson was denied a place to sing because he is a Negro. I beseech you . . . to prove to the world by example that democracy does work.

After the board members completed their statements, comment was invited from the audience. About fifty people spoke, most of them in support of the board majority. Several veterans—both Negro and white—read petitions signed by fellow-veterans urging the board to stand by its decision. One veteran stressed that "to allow free expression of ideas in a building dedicated to the memory of our war dead would indicate that their deaths in fighting for the principles of democracy were not in vain."

A school teacher declared: "Robeson has a special place in the cultural life of this nation. As a high school student I heard recordings of his Shakespearean roles. I checked our library shelves the other day and found three books written about him. If we deny him the chance to be heard, isn't it only a short step toward removing his recordings from the library shelves and finally toward burning books. . . ?"

A minister thus summed up the danger involved in excluding Robeson:

> To my mind the real threat to democracy lies not in the ideas which Robeson may have, but in the use of the *fear* of communism as a justification for the undermining of all the constitutional safeguards of individual rights. It was precisely this supposed danger from Communists first, and other minorities later, which the Nazis used to silence all opposition while they hacked away at the very foundations of government in Germany.
>
> The reason I deplore the type of argument used in the district attorney's letter is that it says in effect: our democratic processes are not strong enough to withstand the threat of force and violence—hence we must abandon them in favor of the use of force and violence ourselves. . . .

The meeting adjourned at midnight with the board's majority vote in favor of permitting Robeson to sing standing unchanged. On May 23 Mr. Robeson appeared, as scheduled, before a capacity audience. There was no trouble.

ALICE S. HAMBURG

In An Early Issue

As a follow-up to Hugo Ernst's article Labor Views the Campaign, which appeared in the May 10 issue, *The Nation* will soon publish a statement on the same general subject by George M. Harrison, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (A. F. of L.), one of labor's most influential spokesmen. With the Harrison statement will also appear a summary of the views of a number of other labor leaders on the great issues of the 1952 campaign.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Strange Inconsistencies

One of the most disturbing things about the signing of the two European treaties last week was the absence of any important reaction in the United States. The West German peace contract and the European Army agreement, between them, committed this country to the defense of a frontier on the Elbe River. They have committed us to military expenditures of proportions impossible to estimate over an indefinite future. Perhaps the country has weighed these commitments soberly and concluded that it has no choice but to accept them; their early ratification by Congress, without important debate or partisan division, seemed assured as the week began. But if that is the case, there are strange inconsistencies in the picture, chief among them the lopping off by Senate and House of a billion dollars or so from the Administration's foreign-aid measure—a procedure totally incongruous with the agreements signed at Bonn and Paris.

It is our view that the people of the United States have neither understood nor consciously prepared themselves for the policy these fateful acts express, and that it is past time that they woke up. An election campaign is upon us and several of the men responsible for our foreign relations are seeking the Presidential nomination. Questions should be asked, and quickly, of General Eisenhower and Mr. Harriman and Senator Taft; the issue of foreign policy should be pushed to the front. It would be strange indeed if the United States were to leave the job of debating German rearmament and all its imminent consequences to the parliaments and peoples of Europe.

Another Miracle Needed

By reversing the ban on "The Miracle," the Supreme Court has made it clear that motion pictures fall within the free-speech guaranties of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. At the same time the court has given the New York Board of Regents who banned the film a timely lecture on the historically-restricted meaning of the term "sacrilegious" and the irrelevance of that concept in a nation which does not support an established church or state religion. "It is not the business of government in our nation," the court points out, "to suppress real or imagined attacks upon a particular religious doctrine, whether they appear in publications, speeches, or motion pictures."

Surprisingly enough the decision was "hailed" with delight in Hollywood by executives who had just granted the American Legion a power over the industry that Cardinal Spellman, who precipitated the controversy over "The Miracle," has never asserted. Employees whose names appear on lists submitted by the Legion must be screened and proper clearance obtained before they can work on future productions. If the craftsmen who make motion pictures must submit to political tests of this character, the obvious implication is that they had better not put out films of which the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other agencies consulted by the Legion might disapprove. Indeed censorship is implicit in the statement of James F. O'Neill, editor of the *American Legion Magazine,* that the Legion's program is one of "watchful observance" of persons employed in radio and television as well as motion pictures and the theater.

Encouraged by the Supreme Court's decision, the industry executives who have been entertaining Mr. O'Neill in Hollywood should permit him to return to his editorial duties in Indianapolis. Or can it be that the Legion will successfully assert a power which the Supreme Court has just decided the State of New York does not possess?

Ridgewood's Littler Point Four

Citizens of Ridgewood, New Jersey, a commuters' community of some 18,000 population forty minutes from Times Square, has launched a program not unlike Norway's "Little Point Four" described by Erling Bjol in *The Nation* of May 24. Last year Octavius Pitzalis, operator of a barber shop and beauty parlor and one of Ridgewood's highly respected citizens, paid a visit to his native village of Nuri (population 6,000) in Sardinia. While there he organized a cooperative agricultural project and invested $3,500 of his own money as the down payment on a tractor and other farm equipment. Learning of this, the citizens of Ridgewood decided to back the project as a community enterprise. At the present time they are raising funds by subscription for the purchase of additional farm equipment for Nuri.

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While projects of this sort could be used to divert public attention from the lack of government support for an effective national Point Four program, they can also have a quite contrary effect. Apart from their practical value they provide one of the best means of arousing popular interest in the possibilities of an enlarged Point Four. Other communities might well profit by the example of Ridgewood and Mr. Pitzalis who, instead of firing a shot heard round the world, made a sensible down payment on a tractor and a plow.

Grass-Roots Common Sense

An award for the week's outstanding contribution to civic sanity should go to Berkeley, California. Apparently concerned by local excitement over the Robeson incident (see this week's Around The U. S. A.) a group of civic leaders organized a public forum, chaired by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, on Our National Security and the American Tradition of Freedom. Speakers were asked to address themselves to three questions: What is Freedom? How do we maintain it? And how do we strengthen our defenses against communism? Out of this meeting has come the Berkeley Committee for Security and Freedom sponsored by such diverse organizations as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Americans for Democratic Action, Young Republicans, the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., and the Berkeley Church Federation. The committee is not an action group and none of these organizations is involved in any commitment except to further security and freedom through full and open discussion.

It is through local groups of this sort that opinion can be organized to resist the current hate hysteria which is beginning to have dangerous "mass" manifestations. For example, the Sons of the American Revolution recently started a "grass-roots anti-subversive drive" which they claim will function through thousands of local organizations. Known as Patriotic Education, Inc., the new movement aims to capture local citizen groups concerned with public education in the manner foreshadowed in last week's editorial, The Battle for the Schools.

South African Hitlerism

Conscious of growing opposition to its plans for subverting the South African constitution, Dr. Malan's Nationalist government has brought into play the Suppression of Communism Act, an instrument of tyranny worthy of Hitler. This law, writes Mr. E. S. Sachs in his new book "The Choice before South Africa" (Turnstile Press, London), contains "a definition of communism which is sufficiently wide to embrace any liberal who advocates racial tolerance or any trade unionist who urges higher wages for workers. The ques-

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tion of who is a Communist or what constitutes communism is to be decided by the Minister. . . . The case will not be decided by the courts on factual evidence in accordance with recognized legal procedure."

The accuracy of these charges has been proved up to the hilt by the use of this act against Mr. Sachs himself, despite the fact that he was expelled from the Communist Party over 20 years ago. He was ordered to resign as secretary of the South African Garment Workers Union and to abstain from all political or trade union activities. When he defied this order by addressing a mass meeting of union members, the police dragged him off to jail, precipitating a bloody riot. Now he faces the possibilty of a three-year jail sentence.

Mr. Sachs, whose article South African Madness, appeared in *The Nation* of April 12, is not the only victim of this vicious act. It has already been employed against about twenty persons and new orders are steadily being issued. A few of those concerned are known Communists: the rest are simply people like Mr. Sachs whom the government deems it convenient to tag with the Communist label. In addition C. R. Stewart, Minister of Justice, has banned Mr. Sachs's book and suppressed *The Cape Guardian,* a left-wing weekly. The British Trades Union Congress has protested strongly the arbitrary actions. We hope American trade unions will follow suit.

Tribute to the "Survey"

More than almost any other journal in America, the *Survey* expressed the faith, the ideas, even the personality of its editor. Paul Kellogg *was* the *Survey,* although he gathered around him through the years many eminent associates. To have to record its passing is like saying goodbye to a valued friend; a painful task, humanly and professionally.

Always a pioneer in the field of social welfare and social ideas, the *Survey* was from its beginning a member of the "deficit group" of forward-looking journals, but until recently the financial problem was successfully met by interested friends, members of Survey Associates, and a few foundations which recognized the unique contribution to social thought and education made by Paul Kellogg and his colleagues. It was the devastating combination of rocketing costs and Mr. Kellogg's serious illness that finally defeated the valiant efforts of the *Survey's* friends to raise the necessary funds.

Fortunately Mr. Kellogg is on the road to recovery. Knowing him as the sort of person who would never accept defeat in a personal sense, we are encouraged to believe that his great authority, wisdom, and imagination will still be put to good use; and so, also, the talents of his devoted staff. But we shall miss the *Survey;* it filled a place no other journal occupies and filled it with integrity and distinction.

1952 Platform for American Labor

THE anti-union offensive is gathering momentum. Almost daily some reactionary congressman comes forward with a bright new scheme for loading the collective-bargaining scales against labor. Taft-Hartley, it appears, is not enough: it must be supplemented by further legislation designed to blunt the edge of labor's strike weapon.

One proposal is to bar strikes in key industries whenever an emergency is declared. A second suggestion is compulsory arbitration of disputes affecting the public interest but this is likely to be as strongly opposed by employers as by unions. A third, discussed in an editorial two weeks ago, is Representative Smith's bill, now before the Armed Services Committee of the House, which would empower the courts, following the Taft-Hartley eighty-day injunction period, to place both unions and companies engaged in a dispute in a receivership of indefinite period during which working conditions could not be changed.

Still another plan, with which congressmen of both parties are toying, is to curb the unions by putting them under the anti-trust laws. Senator Robertson of Virginia is seeking to revive a bill to achieve this end which he introduced in 1950. And in the House, Republican Representative Gwinn of New York has brought forward a measure to outlaw both industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strikes—a proposal written into the original Taft-Hartley law and defeated by only one vote in the Senate after winning the approval of the House.

The Gwinn bill seems to have been inspired by the *Wall Street Journal* which for years has been plugging for legislation to break up what it calls "labor monopolies." An industry-wide strike that cuts off the supply of some vital commodity or service, this paper argues, is really directed against the whole community. Hence if the government is not armed with legal weapons to ban such strikes, it must be endowed with the power to coerce both sides. "There is the choice. . . . Either the withdrawal of the monopoly power or the creation in the government of a greater power before which both property and personal rights lose their sanctity." (*Wall Street Journal,* May 1, 1952.)

Extreme proponents of this idea aim at breaking up labor organizations such as the United Steel Workers. As the *U. S. News and World Report* of May 16 explains: "No single union could be certified as bargaining agent for workers of competing unions. There would be one union for U. S. Steel, another for Bethlehem, another for Republic."

Senator Taft, while not at present willing to go quite

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so far, apparently plans, if elected President, to include "an anti-labor-monopoly law" in his first State-of-the-Union message. According to Philip Geyelin, Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*, he believes that such a law should not prohibit union organization on a national basis. However, except in a few industries such as building and coal which would be allowed to negotiate regional agreements, it would enforce bargaining on a company basis by forbidding any union official to negotiate labor contracts for more than one company. The Senator admits that this ban might not prevent simultaneous strikes to enforce identical demands but he believes localization of bargaining would, to quote Mr. Geyelin's paraphrase, "eventually encourage workers and employers in each company in an industry to work out their problems independently."

There is much in this outline that is unclear. For instance, when Taft talks of "bargaining on a company level," would he permit negotiations with a holding company, such as United States Steel, or would he insist on separate contracts with each operating subsidiary? Nevertheless, if some details are obscure, the objective is all too plain. Taft, like less cautious anti-labor colleagues, aims at atomization of the unions, at the sapping of the strength they derive from national solidarity by reducing them to loose federations of autonomous locals.

This is a real threat but one that can be met. As Mr. Geyelin writes: "This November's elections hold the key to what happens. If the Democrats win a smashing victory this fall, the chance of Congress passing major labor legislation next year would be slim. But if the Republicans hold their own or gain new strength in the House and Senate, it's almost certain that there will be a new effort next year to crack down on the unions." It is up to organized labor to insure against another Eightieth Congress. If it rallies its potential political strength, it can do so.

Judge Waring on the Civil Rights Issue

MORE than ten thousand people gathered in Chicago's Coliseum, at one of the sessions of the recent General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal church, to hear J. Waties Waring pay his respects to the Dixiecrats and make an eloquent appeal for a strong civil rights plank in the platforms of both major parties. Ostracized by the "white folks" of South Carolina, Judge and Mrs. Waring were given a tumultuous reception in Chicago; among other honors the Judge was given the annual Abbott Award of the Chicago *Defender*. The meager accounts of this extraordinary meeting which appeared in the press are, perhaps, a measure of the pitch to which racial tensions have mounted in Chicago in the last year. When the delegates to the Democratic and Republican conventions assemble there next month, they will be visiting a community in which racial tensions are at the highest point since World War II. The city's large Negro population should be in the mood, as it certainly will be in a position, to bring great pressure to bear on the platform committees of both parties.

Judge Waring, whose decisions opened the way for Negroes to vote in South Carolina in the Democratic primaries, spoke of racial prejudice as "a cancer which cannot be cured with a sedative. . . . You must go to the source of the trouble. So long as we have legal segregation in the South, the poison will spread to the rest of the country. So you and I and the other decent people of this country have got to go to the source of the prejudice —the segregation laws of the South—and wipe them out." To all appeasers and "Uncle Toms," the Judge suggested that the reply should be: "We don't care how much money the white supremists spend; we don't want the chains of slavery gold-plated, we want them stricken off. We don't want gifts, we want rights."

At the close of his speech, Judge Waring suggested a civil rights plank, approved by the conference, for adoption by both major parties:

> We deplore and condemn all attempts to discriminate for or against any of our citizens by reason of religion, race, or ancestry, and pledge ourselves to a re-examination of those pillars of our democratic way of life, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and especially those amendments guaranteeing to all persons the equal protection of the laws and prohibiting any state from making or enforcing laws abridging the privileges of citizens or denying to any person equal protection.
>
> We demand that the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson that "all men are created equal" be made a reality.
>
> In furtherance of this principle, we call upon the Congress of the United States to consider and adopt rules which will allow the introduction and discussion and orderly consideration on its merits and the eventual enactment of legislation guaranteeing:
>
> 1. The right of full and equal participation in the exercise of suffrage.
> 2. The right to equal opportunity of employment.
> 3. The right of security of person and property.
>
> We further call upon the executive departments to implement such rights as are now granted and those to be hereafter granted and assured by:
>
> 1. Directing the immediate integration of all personnel in all of the armed forces and complete and sincere elimination of discrimination and designation by color or racial origin; this is to apply to all forces whether serving in this country or foreign lands.
> 2. The insertion in and enforcement of provisions in all contracts made by the federal government for fur-

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nishing of supplies, construction, or labor against discrimination or designation by reason of color or racial origin.

We commend this plank to the members of the platform committees of both parties.

Six Years Too Late

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

SYNGMAN RHEE is a taunting symbol of what is wrong with American policy in Korea. From the moment he and his clique were imposed on the Korean people by the American occupation, they served as a barricade against any popular movement or any democratic development that might conceivably play into the hands of communism. As long as they performed this function, their corrupt and violent practices were regarded as peccadilloes. Now, suddenly, the United Nations command, which is to say the top American brass, is reported to be "much embarrassed" by President Rhee's recent behavior. If this is the case, perhaps one should be gratified; a change of heart might betoken a change of policy—although it might merely mean that American prestige, badly battered as the result of the prisoner-of-war fiasco, cannot stand any more slings and arrows just now. But one thing is sure: with all his manifold faults, Syngman Rhee is our man and it is a little ungrateful, and also a little late, for American generals to begin to be embarrassed by him.

They should have got round to it sooner, say in 1946 when, under the sponsorship of the American army he set up his blatantly dictatorial rule, maintained by Japanese-trained police and his own terrorists, arresting potential opponents, outlawing independent political associations, bestowing benefits—land and concessions and jobs—on his faithful henchmen. The American occupation was never more than mildly concerned with these matters; Syngman Rhee ran his little police state without serious interference, and when the elections of 1948 came along he had things well in hand. What with the people he had thrown into jail and those who had been killed and those who were in hiding or had fled to the north, he was in a position to elect a National Assembly which chose him President by a handsome majority.

Those elections were well cooked. But by 1950 the United Nations was on hand to supervise that year's voting, and while it was still distorted by government repression and corruption, the tide turned sharply against the President and from that date to this the anti-Rhee forces in the Assembly have been in a majority. Fortunately for Mr. Rhee the war began in time to save him from serious inconvenience; while the fighting raged Parliamentary government went into partial eclipse. Although the South Korean army was put under United Nations command, Syngman Rhee displayed an impressive degree of initiative. When the other U. N. forces halted briefly at the Thirty-eighth Parallel, Rhee's troops drove northward, apparently without orders. If the U. N. command, General MacArthur then in charge, felt embarrassed it did not show it; nor did it summon back the ambitious ROKs. And only a little later when the U. N. armies, defying Chinese warnings, moved into North Korea, President Rhee dispatched his terrorists and police into captured territory to "establish order," a phrase which by this time hardly needs defining. Even then we find no record of embarrassment on the part of MacArthur and his generals. But outraged protests began to be heard in the United Nations itself and in the press of the cooperating powers—and eventually the advance agents of Syngman Rhee were called back to their homes.

Is it not odd, in the light of these not too ancient facts, that on May 25, with a thoroughly hostile Assembly preparing to elect a new President in less than a month, Syngman Rhee should have declared martial law and arrested nine opposition deputies? Or that a few days later he should have announced an "international conspiracy" against South Korea, arrested a batch of ordinary citizens, and formally rejected the urgings of military and diplomatic officials that he behave in a constitutional manner? It is not odd. For he knew very well that if he did so the Assembly would presently vote out of office his whole apparatus of control. In fact, he had every reason to expect, it seems to us, that the people who put him in power and countenanced his abuses of power would display composure rather than embarrassment when he took steps to hang on to it.

So Syngman Rhee calmly ignored the resolution adopted 96 to 3 by the Assembly which demanded that martial law be revoked—though such an order is mandatory under the constitution—and the Assembly's further resolution to remain in session until the arrested members were freed. As complete justification for his conduct, Mr. Rhee pointed out that the legislators were "trying to grab political power by intrigue." He also ignored, or has up to the moment of writing, the pressures brought by General Van Fleet and various U. N. representatives, announcing that he will lift martial law when he pleases and that, instead of releasing the jailed deputies, "more arrests can be expected."

Whether the high brass will finally force President Rhee to knuckle under, we cannot guess. All we can say is that, win or lose, they have a miserably weak case. If they had really wanted democracy in Korea, in place of corruption and terror, they would have started differently. They wanted anti-communism, nothing else, and they got Syngman Rhee. Their embarrassment is about six years late.

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One View of Eisenhower

BY JOSEPH C. HARSCH

Paris

BEFORE Dwight Eisenhower left Europe he was genuinely puzzled when certain of his visitors went away saying that in domestic politics he was "to the right of Taft." The visitors, coming from an America where it has become customary to tag everyone as being right or left, had seen in some of his customary views evidence of a rightward domestic political inclination. Ike himself, however, is conscious only of a desire to find the right solution to any given problem regardless of what kind of people have generated the idea.

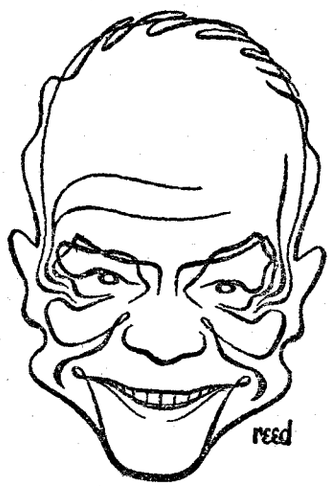
This urge to find a right solution without finding one's self labeled reactionary or radical is the overlooked key to the man Eisenhower and might well lead to considerable confusion before Ike and the American public get to know each other better. In foreign policy Ike is a modern American. But when anyone in these black and white days adopts what is plainly a modern point of view about foreign policy there tends to be an assumption that he must be quite as modern in other areas of public affairs and therefore as easily placed in the domestic political spectrum.

That is precisely where a number of political experts are going wrong these days, because in domestic affairs Ike hasn't had a chance to become modern. He left civilian life in 1910 and has been busy ever since building an army career, waging wars, and trying to remake the face of Europe. True, he had a few brushes with modern America when he was president of Columbia University, but it is important to remember that while he resided in the general environment of a great civilian university he continued to move through it within the immediate environment of a five-star general surrounded by aides and staff sergeants.

Certainly not consciously, but just as certainly unconsciously, Ike looks ahead with the attitude of a man who is not just taking off a uniform, but who feels that he is going to move from the world of "we" to the world of "they." So far as foreign policy is concerned the transition will be easy. In that area the two worlds have not exactly merged, but have intermingled to the point where the army recognizes, albeit with sadness, that political and military affairs can no longer exist in separate compartments. In domestic affairs it is bound to be a different story.

JOSEPH C. HARSCH, Paris correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, *covered General Eisenhower from the time the general was first given the NATO assignment.*

This doesn't mean for a moment that Ike will move into domestic affairs unequipped to comprehend or deal with them. The America of 1910 in Abilene, Kansas, does not prepare a man to grasp instantly the subtleties of Senator Taft's relation with Joe McCarthy or the reasons why it is more respectable for a member of the N.A.M. to be seen lunching with John L. Lewis than with Philip Murray. But it isn't a bad starting point for a new look at 1952's America. After all, people from small Midwest towns in 1910 were decent people capable of tolerance for each other's peculiarities, slow to pass doctrinaire judgments, possessing faith in the general decency of mankind, and free from a certain modern tendency to feel that the other man's ideas need to be purged if one's own are to survive.



Dwight D. Eisenhower

On the other hand it is hardly surprising that some of Ike's visitors haven't seemed to be able to grasp what he was talking about or be able to agree that his political views as of Paris in the spring of 1952 make him a "middle of the roader." To them, he has seemed instead to sound like a man "to the right of Taft." The confusion really arises out of the fact that Ike is not at all to the right of Taft, but rather about 40 years behind Taft in applying his own personal inclinations to the actual problems of America today. Ike simply hasn't had a chance to apply himself to these matters. Taft has.

It is important to compare Taft's and Eisenhower's personal inclinations. On any such comparison Taft would certainly be well to the right. But over the past forty years the Senator from Ohio has found it either necessary or desirable to make certain modifications in the application of his personal doctrines to specific conditions, as has Harry Truman. This is a process through which Ike has not yet had the time or need to pass (or rather had not until he found the transition from military to political life looming ahead of him).

As an announced candidate, Ike began to do some serious thinking. But being able to regard himself with reasonable objectivity he came quickly to the realization that he was certainly not equipped at this stage to

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form decisive judgments on such specific current issues as the steel strike. Political instinct seemed to guide him in the same direction, warning him that he had better not mix in too many current issues until he had had a chance to do some home work. The result has been that he has talked to his visitors in the only idiom available to him; the political idiom of Midwest America, circa 1910.

The real question, however, is not where his domestic views are to be found today, but how good are the pieces of political equipment he has brought home with him as devices for evolving a useful and constructive set of views of modern America. Most of these are too well known to require more than itemization. His personality and easy friendliness are proverbial, and real. So is his ability to act as chairman or moderator of a board meeting and to lead wrangling individuals towards a workable compromise between conflicting views. No one can take from him the fact that the hammering out of the European Defense Community agreement in one year among Europeans conditioned by a thousand years of war and suspicion borders on the miraculous.

Add his ability to express his ideas with an intensity and enthusiasm which actually do arouse public confidence and light little fires of hope and faith. This derives from the fact that he is an optimist with a belief that men are decent and that mankind can move from where it is to some better place. It also derives from an ability unusual in military men to handle words. He did a lot of writing in his day—including General MacArthur's annual reports as Chief of Staff and some MacArthur speeches in the Philippines. He works long and hard at such tasks and picks words carefully. One is surprised by his vocabulary when moving from conversations with military men around him to conversations with him.

THESE are his political assets. What about his liabilities? There are several minor ones. Like Harry Truman, Ike has had some difficulty avoiding undesirable personal associations. He makes friends easily. He has found it necessary to terminate several such friendships. But unlike Truman, Ike can terminate them firmly and decisively. Then Ike moves into the political arena with a skin as yet untoughened to the vulgarities of political behavior. He has been disturbed by the black propaganda campaign waged against him. He wasn't prepared for being called Communist-lover, lecher, "Swedish Jew," and husband of a dipsomaniac. He didn't know that this sort of thing is normal in American political life and that its purpose is as much to rattle him as to influence people against him. It got under his skin and he still can't talk about these abuses without a touch of visible pain. The question is whether he will develop towards a Roosevelt ian delight in collecting specimens or towards a Hoover-like persecution complex, or find a solution peculiar to himself which will be sufficient. Basically an extrovert, the chances are that he will evolve some form of defense. But before he does he may be rattled and thrown off pace several times.

PROBABLY Ike's greatest liability is his sense of being slightly apart and different from even the best of the politicians who built his candidacy. The one person he really trusts in the whole movement is his old personal friend and army associate, General Lucius Clay. So close is the natural sympathy and understanding between them that General Clay was actually used during the predeclaration period as a sort of alter ego for Ike. The politicians, forbidden to ask Ike direct political questions, put them to Clay and Clay gave the answers he assumed Ike would give were he free to give them. And apparently they were almost always the right ones. That same identity of thinking process does not exist with such men as Paul Hoffman and Senator Lodge. They and Ike talk "to" each other rather than "with" each other. They are separated by that delicate but ever present difference between "we" and "they." They are also separated by the persisting assumption that Ike is more important to them than they to him. It will be some time, if ever, before Ike can feel as comfortable among his political associates as he does among his old military friends. This could become an asset by protecting him from a narrowly interested advocacy of special causes. As candidate and/or President, he would be better off not to trust his advisers as completely as he has become accustomed to trust his army friends.

The sum of it all is that Ike is not as complex as some people are apparently trying to make him, or as "placed" as others assume him to be. Using "good" in its best sense, Ike is a good man with strong urges to lead the country out of twenty years of internal strife along what he regards as the middle of the road. He approaches the task with an unusual personality and a real earnestness. He can contribute a fresh sense of direction just because his political roots are in the Middle West of 1910.

Can Ike locate that middle of the road in sufficient time to meet his problems? It won't be the easiest thing he ever tried to do. And of course there is some question whether the middle he finds will accord with the public's sense of where it lies. It would be a grave mistake to assume that Ike is already placed to right, left, or center. If the Republicans take him as their candidate, and the voters as their President, they will be taking a man who knows where he wants to find himself but whose present ideas of where it will be are going to sound quaint, if nostalgically charming, to our sophisticated moderns. Perhaps a touch of quaintness is what a lot of Americans really want after Roosevelt's sophistication and Truman's mixture of good decision in big things and Pendergastian cynicism in small things.

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France's Fatal Indecision

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

WHILE at Bonn the Foreign Ministers were signing the Contractual Agreements with Germany and the European Army treaty, the French political parties were in a state that is hard to describe. The dominant feeling was one of anxiety; but it wasn't the kind of anxiety that produces energetic action. It was mixed up with almost everything under the sun: a spot of black fatalism; a pinch of sheepish optimism; a few idiotic illusions about the "land of Schiller and Goethe" and, at the same time, a distrust of Germany; an even greater distrust of Russia (or *vice versa,* according to the speaker), and a dread of American "irresponsibility." In the end everybody subscribed to some vague half-measures, half-warnings, and half-promises which meant little or nothing.

The general indecision in France can, in the end, only encourage those people in the United States who are pushing hardest for the rearmament of Germany, and those in Germany who are playing an equally dangerous game. *Of course,* on paper, Germany will not be able to go ahead with its rearmament; *of course,* in theory, the road is still open for agreement with Russia, which is expected to look upon the signing of the Bonn agreements only as a salutary warning to come to its senses. But that isn't how things are likely to work out; for the indecision shown by France, and especially by the French Socialists (or, at any rate, by most of them) is not going to create an international *detente*—far from it.

That was the feeling of the Socialist minority, which for two days had struggled gallantly at the party congress at Montrouge to postpone any decision on Germany. That is, to postpone it in actuality, and not merely on paper; for they knew that the kind of resolutions passed at French political congresses, though calculated to make everybody pat himself—and everyone else—on the back, are not the sort of thing that scare the State Department, the Pentagon, or Dr. Adenauer.

There was one curious thing about the congress. Tom Driberg, on behalf of the British Labor Party, read out to the delegates the famous resolution of April 30 of the National Executive on German rearmament. He was loudly cheered and later treated to drinks; but there the matter ended. For the question of the Labor Party's German policy had already been thrashed out on the two previous days. Marceau Pivert, of the left wing of the Socialists, had spoken at length, saying that here was at least a serious attempt to call a halt—at least temporary halt—to this deadly course down the slippery slope. Depreux also had spoken about it; he had said that he "preferred talks with Russia about a world armistice, talks which might be difficult but would be better than a third world war, even if they lasted a year, two years, three years. . . ." The British Labor Party had seen the light. And he added that he was not prepared to rearm Germany just in order to get Taft defeated. But no, Felix Gouin wouldn't have it. What was the good, he asked, of taking any notice of the British? They had let France down in 1940. Britain, he suggested, didn't really come into it at all. To him Russia was enemy No. 1, and the integration of Germany in the West was the only hope of saving Germany—and France—from being swallowed up by Uncle Joe.

Robert Schuman (Dolbin)

Gouin's speech was the most extreme thing heard at the Congress. But the much more moderate speech by André Philip, wrapped up in a mystical cloud of Strasbourg Europeanism, was not really very different in substance. And, in the scales of French socialism, all the speeches in favor of German integration as a "lesser evil" finally outweighed the impassioned speeches of the other school, including that of Naegelon, who said that not a single one of the five conditions laid down by the National Assembly before Schuman went to Lisbon had been fulfilled—no genuine British support, no *gradual* incorporation of the French army into the European Defense Community, no exclusion of Germany from the Atlantic Pact, no guaranty that the German forces would never grow greater than the French, no guaranty of the size of the German units; and those of Daniel Mayer, Grumback, Pivert, or Jules Moch.

Moch's political line over the last few years has zigzagged fantastically; yet one must take his speech at the Socialist Congress with the utmost seriousness. For Moch had come to Montrouge from the United Nations where he had represented France on the Disarmament Commission. He at least had a real understanding of the international atmosphere—and of the prevailing atmos-

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phere in New York, which he described as "atrocious."

Since returning to France a few days ago, he said, many Socialist comrades had laughed at him, saying he had been "wasting his time in New York."

> Yet I maintain, [he continued] that we have no right to ignore the Disarmament Commission—even though it has not produced any tangible results yet. . . . Things have gone more smoothly than at the Palais Rose, and, without revealing any secrets, I maintain that the French delegation has good hope of bringing the Russian and American standpoints more closely together. All problems in the world are linked. What is German rearmament but the terrifying antithesis of general disarmament? If German rearmament is to be agreed on, all hope of disarmament will have to be abandoned. The Socialist Congress must either take the plunge, or else postpone any decision. . . . As I see it the European Army, as at present envisaged, contains none of the guaranties we demanded before Lisbon, and the present plan is an act of sabotage by the experts against the original Pleven Plan.

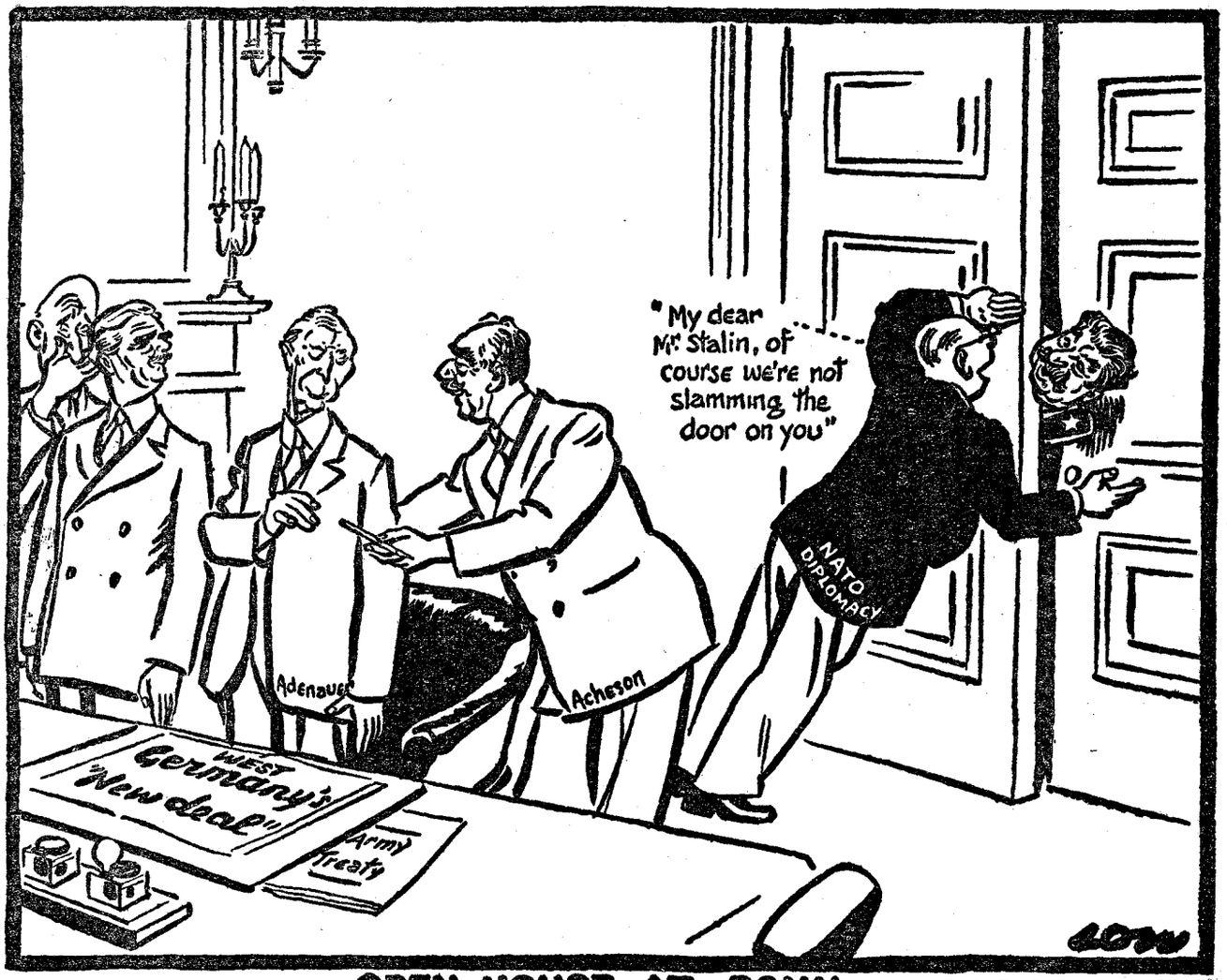
The impression he gave was that, on disarmament, the Russians were *less* difficult than the U. S. A. And after saying that Adenauer, with American encouragement, was becoming more and more insolent; that the present EDC plan would place France in a position of hopeless inferiority *vis-à-vis* Germany; that the German army would have all the dangerous features which the Pleven Plan had tried to exclude, Moch went on:

> The greatest danger to Europe is the revival of the Wehrmacht. For what if the Russians, who are already on the road of big concessions to Germany, were to offer her territorial revision in the East? The German army would pass, lock, stock, and barrel, to the other side. . . .

And then came his most important conclusion:

> All problems today are linked. . . . If the Bonn treaty is ratified, it will be a *fait accompli* which once and for all will ruin every chance of a general settlement. The important thing is to wait—to wait at least for the election of a representative German parliament and for the American Presidential election. Both of them can change everything.

Moch remarked that there was an idea widely current in the United States—the policy of Ultimatums. "This



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is a policy that we as Socialists and Frenchmen cannot accept. We rearm, but not for that. We rearm in order to negotiate; and we are already strong enough for that. Let us pursue our efforts for a general peace settlement." And, alluding to President Auriol's speech at the opening session of the last U. N. Assembly, he concluded: "Let there be a statesman who will call a conference of the Big Four. This cannot be done now. But it must be done after the United States election. And meantime, let there be no German rearmament, which can only ruin the last chances of world peace." On the same day, eighty-year-old Edouard Herriot was saying at the Radical Party congress: "Americans, I must appeal to you. Do not repeat the mistakes you made between the two wars in building up German military strength. . . . Think of what a third world war will mean. As Americans and democrats, and as human beings, you have no right to expose our country to this mortal danger."

Yet the man representing France at Bonn is not Herriot, with his old-fashioned common-sense and historical understanding, or hard, "mathematical" Jules Moch, but flabby, uninspiring Robert Schuman, with his *idée fixe* of "Europe," a non-existent Europe, yet one in whose existence well-meaning provincial Socialists still like to believe in their sloppy way. And hence all the woolly compromises and resolutions, which can only confirm Adenauer in his view that France doesn't know its own mind. . . . Oh Land of Descartes!

Germany, Germany!

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

FOR five years I have been repeating that peace or war would be decided on the issue of Germany. When momentous events like Korea diverted attention toward Asia, I urged a return to the main point on which East and West could either agree or finally break. The events of the past week have unfortunately justified this preoccupation. Secretary Acheson was right in describing the signing of the contractual agreements in Bonn and of the European Army Pact in Paris as a "big event." It was also a personal victory for him if one takes into consideration the fact that these documents were signed in face of the bitter hostility of a large part of European public opinion, with the French government, in particular, fully aware that their acceptance, marking a sharp defeat for France, had been accomplished only under the heaviest pressure of American diplomacy. The threat that if the French refused to sign American military aid would be cut, this time proved totally effective so far as the French people were concerned.

But as in the case of every victory, especially one followed by a period between signature and ratification when the entire controversy will be re-fought, an objective analysis of its consequences is due. I am not thinking so much of the problem of Berlin. Measures already taken and others that may be adopted in the course of a retaliatory campaign against West Germany and the Three Western Powers will certainly capture the headlines, but these will not be the most serious developments. The parallel with the 1948-49 blockade of Berlin is inaccurate. For now that the Potsdam agreement has been tossed out of the window by the ceremony at Bonn, the Russians consider themselves as having regained full jurisdiction over the city. It is not likely that they will ask the Western powers to quit Berlin, but without doubt they believe themselves fully entitled to do so. East German measures adopted immediately after the signing at Bonn—including the partial blocking of telephone communications as well as transport between the Soviet and Western areas—were designed, at least in part, as a demonstration of strength.

No, the most serious consequence of last week's acts is that the natural area of eventual agreement between East and West has been blown to pieces. Once determined upon, the policy of making Germany the "hard core" of the European military alliance against Russia will impose more and more concessions, greater and greater aid, increasing dependence upon West German armed might. The fact that only twenty-four hours after the signatures were blotted, it was announced that the Bonn Republic would be allowed to fabricate tanks and artillery of all sizes, indicates all too clearly what is going to happen. It might even come about in the end that the overwhelming opposition of the Western European peoples to war would leave only two real instruments of anti-Russian strength available for a shooting war: the West German army and the industrial, financial, and atomic power that the United States is in a position to master.

In any case the developments at Bonn and Paris have made a return to diplomacy more difficult than ever. The moment of his triumph may also have marked Secretary Acheson's swan song as a negotiator for peace. The way is now open for the generals and the marshals—including the many hungry, out-of-work Nazi officers for whom this represents the long-awaited day of resurrection.

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Italy: Danger from the Right

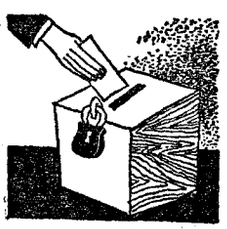
BY WILLIAM MURRAY

Rome (by cable)

AFTER nearly three months of furious campaigning the second round of Italian local administrative elections is over and clerical democracy has won a precarious victory. The elections, which affected some 2400 municipalities mainly in southern Italy, were considered important primarily as an indication of which way the political wind is blowing; Italy's first nationwide general election since 1948 is scheduled to be held next year. If the indications are to be relied upon, 1953 will be the year of crisis for Italian democracy. These relatively unimportant elections of a purely local nature have emphasized one major trend: an upsurge of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement. Everyone expected the Communists and their Socialist allies to gain in strength as they have in every previous election since the war's end, but no one was prepared to see entire city administrations pass into the hands of the fascists and their monarchist allies. The Demo-Christians and their allies kept control over ten provincial capitals including Rome but the fascists have taken over political control of at least six key southern cities: Naples, Foggia, Bari, Benevento, Salerno, and Avellino. The extreme Left, although piling up the largest single vote, has managed to win only five of the provincial capitals and none as important as either Bari or Naples where the Right is in full and arrogant control. In Rome itself the Socialist-Communist coalition outvoted the Demo-Christians by over twenty thousand votes but the neo-fascist block was appealing enough to gain the vote of one out of every four Romans. In Naples the Right picked up over 208,000 votes, some fifty thousand more than the Demo-Christians and about seventy-five thousand more than the Left.

The question then arises who are the voters who are getting behind the "Missini"? Actually one can break down the party into three component parts. First there is the hard core of nostalgic and belligerent ex-Fascists. In the old days under Mussolini they were mainly lesser functionaries and obscure party members holding some minor local post. With them are the ex-soldiers, the fanatics who still claim that Italy could have won the war if she had not been betrayed by her own countrymen. Secondly there are the students and the young men and women who have been trying unsuccessfully to find employment. Many of them are in their middle twenties and are still unemployed. They are the ones that have suffered most from the scarcity of work in large urban areas. Their memories of fascism are vague but pleasant. Most of them did not fight in the last war, but they can remember that until the early nineteen-forties life in Italy was kinder at least to college graduates. Thirdly there is that large mass of underpaid white-collar workers, state employees, and all those people who are having a hard time making ends meet, but who can find no comfort in the Communist appeal to the proletariat. Together the "Missini" dream of a return to the "good old days" when Italy was a world power and the laboring classes knew their place and had better manners.

Strong as they are the neo-fascists have two serious weaknesses: they have no political program and they have no popular figure, no man on horseback to lead them into power. The high party functionaries are either amnestied criminals like Valerio Borghese or unsuccessful traveling salesmen like Giorgio Almirante. The only man with the stature to lead the party is Rodolfo Graziani the discredited old marshal who has already served six years in jail. But he is too old to provide the kind of virile leadership that could fill the Piazza Venezia with screaming fanatics. Even more serious is the absence of any program but nostalgia. In the gallery of the Piazza Colonna in Rome where political agitators have been haranguing crowds of passersby as well as each other, the fascists were always stopped by the question "What is your progam?" If the fascists fail to come up with either a man on horseback or a program, there is no question that eventually they will collapse of their own inadequacy just as the once powerful "Uomo Qualunque" (Everyman's Party) collapsed five years ago. One can already detect signs that this decay is taking place: there are several diverging currents of thought within the party and two splinter groups have already broken away to form their own parties, although they have remained allied to the "Missini."



The political campaign itself here was long and bitter. It began several months before the election and each of Rome's sixteen political parties held at least one rally in every section of the city. The Communists campaigned behind another one of their political fronts; this one calling itself the "citizens list." As the figurehead of their campaign they chose eighty-four-year-old Francesco Saverio Nitti, until yesterday an opponent of communism and now the butt of many an Italian political quip. The

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selection of Nitti to head the left-wing list was a real surprise. Nitti's one claim to fame is that he was head of a short-lived democratic government immediately after World War I. Since then his time has been spent in a futile attempt to get back into power apparently on any ticket which could promise him victory. The enlarged photograph of him which the Communists plastered all over the walls of Rome bears an unfortunate resemblance to all those well known Communist cartoons of pig-faced capitalists wallowing in barrels of dollar bills and hundred-thousand-lire bank notes. The Communist-sponsored political rallies were also strangely apathetic and badly attended. Nevertheless their new political issue —the corruption of the Demo-Christian government— was sufficient to gain them an increase of nearly one hundred thousand votes in Rome alone.

The Demo-Christians lavished fantastic sums on an American-style campaign with parades, loudspeaker trucks, and marching bands. The police cooperated ably in keeping order while the Demo-Christians held their rallies and staged their parades. No other political parties were allowed the luxury of a parade. The smaller democratic parties allied to the government were unable to wage any kind of effective campaign. The Social Democrats are suffering from their usual diseases: lack of money and internal dissension. The Republicans failed to come up with a program. The Liberals at least had money to spend on their campaign, but on the issue of freedom for business interests they had a platform with no voter appeal at all. Both Communists and fascists were able to wage a most effective campaign against the Christian Democrats mainly on the issue of corruption and its dependent evils: lack of housing; the exorbitant rates charged by public services; the unfair taxation; the administration of necessities such as gas and electric current by companies charging outrageous rates, and so on. Unless the Demo-Christians clean house before next year the 1953 elections can only worsen the already serious plight of Italian democracy. The tone of the campaign can best be grasped through the following story: All over Rome the Demo-Christians erected huge campaign posters. In one poor section the Communists erected much smaller posters in the shape of a hand pointing at the mammoth Demo-Christian posters. On each hand was written "It cost the Demo-Christians thirty thousand lire to erect this poster. Who paid?"

Jim Crow, M.D.

BY ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

Chicago

IT IS easy to demonstrate that there is discrimination against racial minorities in medical education, medical practice, and medical institutions in the United States, but it is not always easy to find and understand the causes. To some extent, certainly, discrimination in medicine is a result of discrimination in society generally. It is important to remember that the doctor and hospital engaging in discriminatory selection are often victims as well as culprits.

It is by no means true, however, that the medical profession is helpless to do anything toward eliminating discrimination. Indeed there is heartening and increasing evidence to the contrary. Before considering this evidence, however, we should make some attempt to measure the problem.

The basic facts of medical discrimination against Negroes are apparent in a few simple statistics: With 10 per cent of the nation's population, Negroes have only a little more than 2 per cent of the nation's physicians and occupy only 2½ per cent of the nation's hospital beds. The physician-population ratio for the whole population is 1 to 750; for the Negro population the ratio is 1 to 3500, substantially below the 1 to 1500 ratio commonly accepted in our country as the minimum necessary for adequate medical service. Of 26,000 students enrolled in medical schools, 660—less than 3 per cent—are Negroes; of these, three-fourths are enrolled in the two all-Negro institutions, Meharry Medical College in Nashville and Howard University in Washington, D. C. Negro graduates are eligible for appointment to fewer than 200 internships of which more than half are in segregated Negro hospitals. (There are about 10,000 internships available altogether.) Of some 12,000 residency appointments on hospital staffs, a little more than 100 are available to Negro physicians and three-fourths of these are in segregated hospitals.

It is neither necessary nor desirable that the Negro population should look only to Negro physicians for needed medical care, or that Negro physicians should limit their practices to members of their own race, yet the existence of racial barriers in hospital staff appointments makes it difficult to break this pattern of segregated medical care in most communities. A current report of the Provident Medical Associates of Chicago states:

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Few Negro physicians have hospital staff appointments at any but all-Negro hospitals. Thus they must take their patients to Negro hospitals or turn them over to the care of white physicians in the hospitals to which they themselves do not have access. In all the United States opportunities for internships and residences are limited, and hospital and clinical facilities are segregated or denied. And in most of the South, membership in county medical and other professional and scientific societies is refused. To a greater degree than in the case of his white confreres, the average Negro physician becomes a general practitioner, isolated professionally and serving a low-income group.

Many of the difficulties faced by the Negro physician are interrelated. The bylaws of most hospitals provide that staff appointments shall be made only from among members in good standing of the local county medical society; with society membership denied him, the Negro physician is thus effectively barred from hospital practice. In fairness, it must be emphasized that the American Medical Association, often a target for abuse by liberal groups, is not responsible for such exclusions. The A. M. A. is made up of constituent local and county medical societies which lay down their own qualifications for membership. Where Negro doctors are denied admission, it is the local society and not the A. M. A. that is at fault. Many societies, of course, do have Negro members who are also members of the A. M. A., and a number of county societies have opened membership to Negro physicians in recent months. Several of these are in the South.

Inevitably, discrimination in the admission of hospital patients emerges from these discriminatory aspects of medical education and practice. Ordinarily it is doctors, and not their patients, who initiate the demand for hospital service and make the request for admission. Where segregation exists in education and housing and employment it exists inevitably also in the private practice of medicine. Where segregation exists in the private practice of medicine and the Negro physician has no hospital staff appointment, there aren't many Negro hospital patients.

Unfortunately, hospitals are businesses as well as medical institutions; voluntary hospitals must earn most or all of their operating expenses. The accident victim whose condition is perilous is commonly cared for without question about payment, but it is necessary and, in a business sense, prudent, for the hospital to raise the question of payment in the case of a patient who could be removed to a public institution without danger. This is done right along in some emergency cases. When the patient is a Negro it is often concluded that rejection has been for racial rather than economic reasons. Frequently this is an injustice to the hospital. On the other hand, in some cases the economic circumstance is a screen behind which discriminatory practices are hidden. The same act is involved in either case; it is the motive which is in doubt.

In Illinois and elsewhere, hospitals have opposed licensure laws with provisions which would jeopardize the license of any hospital turning a patient away because of race, creed, or color. Such opposition does not mean, as some observers have concluded, that hospitals generally favor racial discrimination. It means simply that they are fearful that failure to admit any patient for any reason—including the professional and economic reasons that have been described here—could be interpreted as discriminatory. Until the law can be written in such a way that discriminatory practices can be eliminated without forcing the hospital to relinquish control of its own medical and financial policies, hospitals will probably continue to oppose it.

Two other aspects of discrimination in medical institutions should be mentioned here. One is the placement in the hospital of Negro patients who do gain admission, and the other is in the employment of Negro nurses, technicians, and other personnel. Common hospital practice leaves a great deal to be desired in both areas today. Many hospitals, in the Chicago area and elsewhere, admit some Negro patients but insist on placing them in single rooms, or in semi-private or ward accommodations occupied by other Negro patients. Only in the large wards of public hospitals and a few of the medical teaching centers is it common to see Negro and white patients occupying adjacent beds. When challenged about this practice, most hospital people reply that it is done, not because the hospital or the doctors wish it so, but because white patients object when they have to share hospital accommodations with Negro patients. Time after time, it has been demonstrated that such excuses are fictitious.

It has also been demonstrated beyond any doubt that nothing happens when white and Negro nurses work together on hospital floors, or when Negro nurses care for white patients and white nurses care for Negro patients—another of the situations that many hospital, nursing, and medical people fear. As a matter of fact, discrimination against Negro nurses and other hospital personnel is breaking down rapidly today. This is a case of arriving at the right answer for the wrong reason: the shortage of nurses and other personnel has become so severe that many hospitals which formerly barred Negroes from all except menial positions have been forced to accept them.

These few facts and relationships may suggest the extent to which discrimination exists in medicine. The causes of discrimination reach back into the segregated

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pattern of our whole social structure. While some discrimination is certainly chargeable to the management of hospitals, it seems plain that a much larger share emerges from the failure of hospital governing boards to appoint Negro physicians to attending staff positions. In any given situation, of course, this may be because the board frankly discriminates against the Negro physician, or because the staff itself discriminates by failing to recommend its Negro colleagues for such appointments.

BUT it may also be due to other causes. In a particular hospital or community it may be because there are no Negro physicians who can qualify for such an appointment. Many hospital staffs, for example, limit attending appointments to qualified specialists. As we have seen, the opportunities for residency training for Negro physicians are so limited that comparatively few can qualify themselves as specialists. Of 29,000 certified medical specialists listed two years ago by the National Advisory Board for Medical Specialties, 101 were Negroes. The Provident Medical Associates of Chicago has been devoting its resources for several years to financing graduate medical education for qualified Negro physicians in an effort to improve this situation. This group has also been providing scholarship aid for undergraduate medical education for qualified students, and plans to increase this phase of its activities during the coming years. The problem is a perplexing one, however, not only because of the limited number of Negro students who are financially able to meet the heavy costs of professional education, but because of the limited number of Negro students who are educationally qualified. The roots of medical discrimination are buried deep in our segregated educational system.

If inequalities resulting from segregation in medical and hospital care are not always their fault, doctors and hospital people can often eliminate the inequalities *when they have the will to do so.* As part of a community-wide program in betterment of race relations, the medical staff of one of the hospitals in Gary, Indiana, four years ago invited applications for appointment from qualified Negro physicians in the community. Up to that time, the practice of Negro physicians had been limited to a totally inadequate hospital located in the segregated district. Two Negro physicians qualified at once, and five more have accepted appointments since then, with the result that more than 20 per cent of the patients in the hospital today are Negroes. This has been accomplished without any unpleasant incidents. In the Phoenix, Arizona, Memorial Hospital, Negro and white patients, doctors, nurses, and other hospital workers are treated as complete equals. This is also the case at New York City's Sydenham Hospital, one of the first truly interracial institutions to be established in this country.

The experience at Sydenham, incidentally, illustrates how the economic problems that result from discrimination in housing and employment are reflected in medical care. Established as a voluntary hospital in the Negro section of New York City several years ago, Sydenham went broke in three years and had to be taken over by the city department of hospitals. Other cities have had the same experience: The Provident Hospital in Chicago engages in heroic fund-raising efforts, year after year, to meet mounting deficits. With 20 per cent of its patients Negroes, the Methodist Hospital at Gary reports that 50 per cent of its unpaid bills are in the Negro group. The University of Chicago Clinics has had a comparable experience in the last two years.

Nevertheless, the number of hospitals around the country accepting Negro physicians as interns, residents and attending staff members is steadily growing: In Chicago, Negro doctors are on the staff at Cook County, Children's Memorial, and Michael Reese hospitals. Elsewhere, Negro physicians have been appointed at such representative institutions as Philadelphia General, Newark City in Newark, N. J., Queens General in New York, Allegheny General in Pittsburgh, and Los Angeles County. Especially noteworthy are developments in the South: the Emory University medical school at Atlanta, Georgia, has established a post-graduate clinic for Negro physicians; the Johns Hopkins school of medicine at Baltimore has admitted Negro physicians for post-graduate education; community hospitals in Virginia and Arkansas have admitted Negro physicians.

LESS important but surely significant of changing attitudes in the profession are several recent events: The American Medical Association switched its forthcoming December meeting from Houston to Los Angeles when it became known that the headquarters hotel in Houston would not accept Negro delegates as guests. At the American Hospital Association convention in St. Louis last month the association found, to its embarrassment, that Negro members were not accepted at downtown hotels. It was too late to act this year, but the association immediately made a public announcement to the effect that its meeting would not return to St. Louis until all members could expect equal treatment in living and eating accommodations. When several Southern nurses walked out of a Catholic hospital in West Virginia a few months ago because the Sister Superior refused to discharge three Negro nurses who had been added to the staff, the hospital stood its ground and received full support from the community, the newspapers, the Mother Superior of the Order running the hospital, and the Bishop of the Diocese. When the professional magazine with which I am associated published a portfolio of articles a few months ago urging an end to discrimination in hospitals and medicine, we re-

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ceived the largest volume of mail in years—and the response was overwhelmingly favorable.

Of course, there are less encouraging indications, too. Negro hospitals are still being built throughout the South, and federal funds are being used to build hospitals which evade the anti-discrimination clause in the federal law by using the false doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities. A huge, all-Negro hospital is being built in Philadelphia; another is projected for Washington, D. C. A hospital is being built in the Negro section of Evanston, Illinois. Sponsors of the project claim it will be "interracial" in character, but many observers think it will be segregated, in fact if not in name.

Except where positive action is taken by physicians, as in Gary, Indiana, and in the case of Provident Medical Associates in Chicago, elimination of discrimination in medicine generally is likely to come about only as discrimination comes to be abolished in other phases of life. The physician does not practice in a vacuum. More than he as ever had to do in the past, the physician today must integrate his activities with those of other groups in society in order to be effective. The organization of the modern hospital is more than anything else an outgrowth of the practicing physician's ever-increasing dependence on the judgments and skills of his professional associates.

As his scientific problems have grown constantly more complex, the physician has also had to lean increasingly on the staff of technically trained assistants that is organized for him at the hospital or clinic, and on the elaborate plant and equipment facilities that only the hospital or clinic organizations can purchase and maintain for him. Finally, as medical science in recent years has revealed the relationship of illness and health to the individual's entire life circumstance, as opposed to specific disease processes only, the physician finds himself in closer and closer contact with groups entirely outside the medical profession—with public and private welfare agencies and their staffs of administrators, social workers and psychologists; with schools, churches and others concerned with various aspects of the human being and his environment. The lone doctor and his little black bag are a fond memory, perhaps, but they are only a memory today. *Laissez faire* medicine, like *laissez faire* government and *laissez faire* capitalism, is gone for good. When society eliminates racial and religious discrimination, medicine will eliminate it. To expect otherwise is to expect the impossible.

Battling the Private Power Lobby

BY BARROW LYONS

Washington, D. C.

THE propaganda machine which private power utilities have built in the last several years at a cost of millions of dollars has begun to backfire. Last week some 500 representatives of farm, labor, and consumer organizations met in Washington, D. C., in a fighting mood. The mood was sharpened by some of the most skilful oratory heard for sometime—even in Washington—and the delegates went to work at once on their representatives in Congress.

The objective of the delegates was not merely to defeat the assault which utility companies are making with telling effect upon all forms of publicly-generated, transmitted and distributed electrical energy; they used the conference as a counter-attack to extend the benefits of public power systems.

Labor leaders saw in the conference an opportunity to build a sounder alliance with farm leaders, particularly in view of the coming political campaign, and sent some of their most persuasive speakers. At the banquet session Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.) spoke on one of his favorite themes, The Road to Abundance, and Paul L. Phillips, president of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, (A. F. of L.) enlarged upon The Wage-Earners' Stake in Public Power. Non-labor speakers included Senator Wayne Morse, who emphasized the interest of all groups in the problem of preserving and enlarging our public power plant; Senator Lister Hill, who directly attacked the power lobby of 1952, and Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman, who pledged support of the conference objectives.

The initiative in calling the conference came from leaders of public-power groups in the Northwest, where they are attempting to develop a public-power grid that will more adequately serve the region. In this area there is as much underdeveloped hydro-power as in all of the presently-developed power in the nation. Leaders of the public utility districts, R. E. A. cooperatives, and municipalities want to tap more of it. Private companies have operating costs, which the ultimate consumer must pay in his monthly billing.

BARROW LYONS, a former New York financial writer, went to Washington fourteen years ago as financial economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission. He was for several years Chief Information Officer of the Bureau of Reclamation, and is now a free-lance writer.

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The public-power agencies of the region have been blocked in Washington, D. C., and in Washington state. They have been told that they could not build new lines because of the scarcity of materials required for the defense effort. They have been told that to construct their own projects through borrowing would be inflationary. But they have seen the private utilities, unchecked by such restrictions, build plants requiring at least as much material and which will produce considerably more costly energy. They became angry; and when their desire to call a national conference in Washington was communicated to public agencies and cooperatives elsewhere, they found other people were angry for similar reasons. In comparing grievances and talking over the best way to carry the war to the enemy, wise counsel suggested that the effort be made to bring in representatives of the consumer. And thus labor groups joined the effort.

A COMMITTEE of sponsors was formed in which the following groups were represented: American Public Power Association, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Communications Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Cooperative League of the United States of America, National Farmers Union, Northwest Public Power Association, International Association of Machinists (A. F. of L.), International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (C. I. O.), Judson King Foundation, Inc., National Rural Electric Cooperatives, Public Affairs Institute, Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.), United Auto Workers (C. I. O.), United Steel Workers of America (C. I. O.).

It was calculated that the distributing agencies among the sponsors served about 6,000,000 electric meters in every state, and, represented possibly three times that many persons.

President Truman addressed the opening session and made it obvious that he recognized the political importance of this gathering of grass-roots consumer and cooperative groups. He charmed with a speech that was partly read, partly extemporaneous. He promised cooperation. He said he was thinking of asking his new Attorney General, James P. McGranery, to investigate whether power companies are violating the Corrupt Practices Act in charging their propaganda expenses to power consumers and at the same time using them to reduce their taxes by accounting for them as necessary costs of operation.

The President alluded to the "millions and millions" of dollars that the utility lobby and individual companies throughout the country are spending to bend the public-power program to their own purposes and check the growth of municipal and cooperative enterprises. He mentioned the full-page advertisements run by the utilities in "Mr. Claire Boothe Luce's *Life* magazine" costing $17,000 each, and one in "the big corporation-controlled *Saturday Evening Post*" costing $12,000.

But what seemed to irritate him most was the strategy advised by the utility-advertising agencies. He had been studying their "literature" and its effects. One agency boasted, he said, that its technique was so successful that ministers included its propaganda in their church notices and obtained its posting on bulletin boards of the Boy Scouts. The President declared:

> Their own manuals say their purpose is to influence the mass mind in this country by playing on people's emotions. The mass mind—what a horrible phrase. I think it is one of the most horrible phrases in the language. They think of the individual human being in this country as part of a mass mind. They set out to play upon the emotions of churchgoers, boy scouts, and school children. They try to control people's thoughts by using slogans and scare words, taking a leaf out of the books of Karl Marx and Adolph Hitler. They are following the Soviet and fascist line.

Mr. Truman's audience appeared to feel as he did. Repeatedly the desire was expressed by scheduled speakers and from the floor that the Federal Power Commission enforce the law which prohibits propaganda and money used to influence legislatures from being charged to operating costs, which the ultimate consumer must pay.

Murray D. Lincoln, President of the Cooperative League, CARE and Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, under whose name the call for the conference went out, urged the delegates to make certain that the message developed by this conference reaches the people.

A committee chaired by Dr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director of the Public Affairs Institute, drafted a statement of policy and plan of action, which was adopted at the end. It placed emphasis upon preservation of the preference clause in power contracts which gives cooperatives and public bodies first call upon power generated at federally-owned plants; it defended government-built transmission lines, and advocated the coordinated development of river basins. Its preamble asserted: "The American people's heritage of power resources is threatened today by unreformed private power monopolists, defending their high-cost, scarcity-supply policies by the immoral use of rate-payers' funds to corrupt sources of information, educational institutions and democratic processes themselves."

To implement the program the sponsors of the conference were named to a continuing committee authorized to visit the President and to maintain contact with Congress. The committee is headed by Clyde Ellis, executive secretary of the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association, one of the dynamic figures at the conference.

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FREEDOM'S STAKE IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Four hundred delegates coming from forty-four cities in ten states, among them representatives of thirty-six national organizations, took part in the all-day conference of The Nation Associates on Freedom's Stake in North Africa and the Middle East, held on Sunday, May 25, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. Seven hundred persons attended the closing session that evening, a dinner-forum on Arab-Israel Peace—Key to Stability in the Middle East.

A distinguished group of speakers participated in the conference. They included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Senator Estes Kekauver;* Ambassador L. N. Palar of Indonesia; David Goitein, Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel; Senator S. R. Shafaq of Iran; Jean Louis Mandereau, director of the Missions Division of the U. N. Technical Assistance Administation; Dr. Clarence E. Pickett, honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; Professor E. A. Speiser, chairman of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania; Roger Baldwin, chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man; Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* of London; Dr. Dewey Anderson, executive director of the Public Affairs Institute; and Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation* and president of The Nation Associates. Arthur Garfield Hays presided at the closing dinner forum.

From the addresses by the speakers and the discussion from the floor there emerged as the consensus of the sessions the following points respecting the policies of the Western democratic world in the highly strategic area under discussion:

1. That there is need for a revision of those policies in terms of an understanding that security cannot be achieved through military arrangements alone.

2. That security is indivisible: for the Middle East, and consequently for the world, security lies in winning the loyalty of the people.

3. That the loyalty of the people cannot be won without a recognition of the profound revolution against feudalism and colonialism which is taking place in that area.

4. That the dynamics of democracy should be applied through an over-all plan of assistance to countries of the Middle East, based on recognition of the meaning of that revolution.

5. That the stability of the area, indispensable to security, cannot be achieved unless there is a settlement of the Arab-Israel war.

6. That the Western world, while recognizing that Arab-Israel peace can come about only as the result of direct negotiations between the interested parties, should encourage such negotiations by offering assistance in the development of the area.

In the pages which follow we publish condensations of the principal addresses.

* Senator Kefauver was detained in California and his speech was read by his New York campaign manager, Boris Kostelanetz.

DAY SESSIONS

Imperialism, Nationalism, and Feudalism

Friendly Nationalism

By L. N. PALAR
Permanent Representative of Indonesia in the United Nations

It is my contention that the struggle of any country whatsoever to free itself from foreign domination—with the paramount purpose in mind of giving its own people every possible opportunity for political, economic and cultural development—can certainly not be qualified as being hostile to democracy.

Let us consider the matter of Egyptian nationalism, but let us first establish that Egypt is presently being ruled in accordance with current procedures of parliamentary democracy. Concerning the question of the Sudan, the Egyptian nationalists contend that the majority of the Sudanese wish to belong to the Egyptian kingdom. If this is so indeed, and I personally have no reason to doubt that, then Egyptian nationalism coincides with Sudanese nationalism and there is no violation of democracy. If it should be proven, however, by plebiscite or by whatsoever other procedure might be chosen, that the majority of the Sudanese people do not want to be included in the Egyptian kingdom, then it would have to be said that Egyptian nationalism is an imperialistic current and would have to be branded as the foe of democracy.

The Egyptian demand for the evacuation of the strategic Suez Canal Zone is certainly not anti-democratic. To the contrary! But this endeavor is directed against those countries which have dominating positions in the Middle East. The tragedy of the whole affair lies in the fact that these countries form the nucleus of West European democracy. This struggle, necessary to the proper development of democracy in the Middle East, is undoubtedly weakening the position of the Western democracies in the present raging cold war. However, the situation need not be perpetuated. If the democracies are prepared to abandon their politically obsolete, dominating positions in the Middle East—if they are prepared to abandon their

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imperialistic, nationalistic policy, an anti-democratic element in these great democracies—they can rest assured that they will no longer be troubled by Middle East nationalism. Rather, they will find there support and friends in the defense of democracy.

Hostility to the West

By ROGER N. BALDWIN
President, International League for the Rights of Man

If the United States had invested as much in pro-democracy as in anti-communism, we would not be confronted as a nation with the unpopularity of our foreign policy. To Arabs the struggle between communism and democracy seems wholly secondary to their struggle against colonialism. They feel that if we really mean to stand by democracy we must stand by national independence.

Everywhere in the Middle East this issue of national independence has gained unprecedented strength. And everywhere in the Arab states I found hostility not only to the great colonial powers but also to the United States as the backer of French rule in North Africa and of British intervention in Egypt. It is a startling fact that while the Arab states have outlawed the Communist parties and regard communism as an enemy of the Moslem religion, they tend to turn toward Russia as their ultimate hope if the West fails them.

Human rights for the Middle East, where religious intolerance makes life difficult for minorities, cannot be achieved until foreign influences are removed and the road thus cleared for internal reforms of feudal oligarchies. Popular forces for those reforms are now weak. Human rights will be able to develop only under independence and with the aid of the United Nations.

Moroccan Bases

By DR. BENJAMIN RIVLIN
Professor of Political Science, Brooklyn College

In their feverish haste to establish American air bases in Morocco, United States military planners have neglected to take into account one very important factor—the loyalty of the native population. The United States negotiated the agreement for the Moroccan bases with France as if it were negotiating the establishment of bases in Brittany, Normandy, or any other part of France. No recognition was taken of the fact that Morocco was a Protectorate of France, possessing a sovereignty entirely separate and distinct from that of France.

The United States should have found it wiser to consult with the Sultan, the legitimate sovereign of Morocco, so as to get his accord for this unprecedented and very special request. Instead the Sultan heard about the decision to construct United States air bases in his country through the press. The undermining effect that these developments had on United States prestige among native populations and their leaders throughout French North Africa cannot be overestimated.

The American act has been justified as a matter of expediency and as part of a policy of "first things first." *Time* magazine, writing of the American bases in Morocco, rationalized the situation with an analogy: "After some misgivings, Americans on the scene have now pretty well convinced themselves that to be distracted by colonial problems in the present emergency would be like a fire engine's crew on the way to a fire noticing that the streets are dirty, and stopping to clean up the litter." As an American who was on the scene, I want to register my most emphatic disagreement with this conclusion. Colonialism is not litter on the street—it is part of the fire.

The only way in which the United States can win is by identifying itself with the struggle of colonial peoples all over the world for a better life, and for self-government. This is the tradition of American policy of long standing which is being disregarded. It is the distinct impression that was left with me, and which I daresay is shared by many others who have been in North Africa recently, that the Arab nationalists are taking a cue from the French neutralists and are biding their time. When the chips will be down, they will hardly rally to the side of the United States, for nothing has been done to make them like us. Under these circumstances, will not the effectiveness of our bases in Morocco be undermined?

Iran's Problems

By DR. S. R. SHAFAQ
Member of the Iranian Senate

Iran's freedom is at stake primarily because of economic reasons. Due to various factors—power politics, imperialism from without and a sort of feudalism from within, and two world wars—Iran is seriously hit by poverty. To fight this desperate situation we need religious insight, faith, and real appreciation of human values with the moral support of the free world. But also we are in urgent need of economic help.

Once the economic problem of the country begins to approach solution, a series of radical reforms is bound to come. Let us not forget that Iran and the rest of the Middle East countries have not had much time for improvement; the movement toward modernization and democratization in the Middle East is hardly half a century old. The Orient is backward and under-developed, but it is no longer slumbering. Among the reforms urgently needed and bound to come is the land reform. Distribution of extensive property holdings among small proprietors is one method. His Majesty, the Shah of Iran, has personally initiated this idea in Iran by actually distributing his own royal lands. But there are enormous social, psychological, and economic obstacles in the way which time alone can solve.

To those of Iran's friends in great countries like the United States, who sometimes ask somewhat petulantly what else and what more can they do to help the Middle East get on its feet, I would answer, "Use perseverance and patience, help with all means, for there is no 'I' and 'you' in the world any more, but there is only 'we.'"

The Way to Strength

By KINGSLEY MARTIN
Editor, The New Statesman and Nation

One great underlying difference between America and Western Europe is that war seems to you a great evil that you would survive, while to us it would be a final catastrophe. In short, Great Britain is a base for United States bombers and, as such, expendable. If such considerations apply to Britain,

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how much more do they apply to many other United States bases!

The most important fact of our period of history is the revolution in Asia and the revolution that is shaping all over Africa and among colored peoples all over the world. In the Middle Eastern countries, which I've visited recently, arms-giving does not produce "positions of strength." I asked one dictator, who complained that the West did not arm him more thoroughly, why he wanted arms; he replied that he needed them to secure himself against the Jews, and it took little more inquiry to discover that he also needed an army to guard against possible revolt among his subjects and that the Moslem movement which is now sweeping over all the territory from Morocco to Pakistan, would ultimately use the arms to turn the Western powers out of the Middle East. The idea of using them against Russia has not remotely occurred to these people. Why should it? Russia has not harmed them and to them our "defense of the Middle East" means merely domination and occupation by Western imperialists.

The world situation is not simply a sharp division between two great blocs. This is illusion. The truth is that a very large part of the world is only anxious not to be involved, not to be conquered by Russia and liberated by America or conquered by America and liberated by Russia! They want no part of it. In some circumstances of course they would fight; the circumstances are their own liberty. And here comes a complication. Liberty to the mass of colored people of the world means first owning the land they themselves cultivate and, secondly, not being dominated by a foreign power. Our job then is to accept this revolution and see how far we can cooperate with it and perhaps influence it into democratic channels.

How do you make "positions of strength"? First, you aid, if you can, governments which genuinely represent popular feeling and which have a chance of creating progressive economies which will improve the standard of living of the people and make them believe in their own future. Then there is a chance of that internal strength which is the real strength—the difference between France and Britain in 1940! That means less arms and more Point Four and a much less dictatorial and more modest effort to understand and help. It means cooperation with the popular and sometimes actually revolutionary forces which are nationalist and Socialist and anti-Communist. There have been such instances in Asia, and I should add as the most spectacular examples of recent policy the two new free countries which are coming to birth in West Africa where communism is nothing because the hope of economic and social freedom is before the people. This is the only sound anti-communism because it offers a better alternative hope.

Technical Assistance

By JEAN LOUIS MANDEREAU
Director of Missions Division of U. N. Technical Assistance Administration

It was after World War II that technical assistance took the shape we know today—one of the major developments of the centuries, and I should say a turning point in the history of relations between countries. The new approach is international instead of national or private. It is a decision of most of the nations of the world to get together and to bring into a common pool expert knowledge, what each of them can contribute, with the idea that each country could draw from this pool all the technical help it needed. It becomes a world-wide enterprise, a chain of good will, where each country gives what it can and expects to receive what it needs. It is the United Nations Technical Assistance program.

In this expression the word "united" takes its real meaning. They are united not to meet in a General Assembly once a year, or in commission or committee, to quarrel or argue, but they are united in a common fight against poverty, illiteracy, disease, to build together a better world to live in.

The United Nations, at the time they launched the program, set down a certain number of guiding principles. I want to draw your attention to two or three of them.

Technical assistance shall be rendered by the participating organizations only in agreement with the governments concerned and on the basis of requests received from them. United Nations does not try to impose some type of help to governments, and full responsibility for requesting the help lies with the government alone.

An important principle of the technical assistance program is that the technical assistance furnished shall not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and not be accompanied by any considerations of a political nature. I want to draw your attention especially to that principle because that makes all the difference between the United Nations Technical Assistance program and the other bilateral programs. Our experts are sent as technicians only, not as ambassadors. During their mission they forget as much as possible their nationality, to be exclusively at the service of the country which has requested their help.

Technical assistance cannot solve all problems confronting underdeveloped areas, but it is a necessary element in the solution.

Healthy Nationalism

By DAVID GOITEIN
Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel

For four centuries all the Middle East countries were part of the Turkish Empire, and national movements in the true sense scarcely existed. Any signs of nationalism in the twentieth century were ruthlessly crushed. In the First World War English romanticism on the one hand, and the collapse of the Turkish Empire on the other, did much to make possible the rise of Arab nationalism.

The Sword and Ibn Saud, with the Koran, made Arabia free, and the discovery of oil in that country and its exploitation by United States companies made it rich. But the wealth is very largely in the hands of a handful. Nationalism today means the throwing off of foreign interference. It is more concerned with flag-flying than with the raising of the standard of living. It has not yet shown that broadness of outlook which would allow it to recognize the validity of a national movement other than its own. This explains the Arab countries' failure to recognize Israel.

Israel has shown that democracy can flourish in the Middle East. There is hope from the example of Israel for a healthy nationalism in the Middle East.

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EVENING SESSION

Arab-Israel Peace—Key to Middle East Stability

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was given a standing ovation by the audience which filled the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel for the closing dinner session of The Nation Associates conference. Prompted by attacks against *The Nation* prior to the dinner, Mrs. Roosevelt prefaced her address with a challenge to those who are undermining American democratic practices and with a reaffirmation of her own belief that American freedoms must be preserved. Her prefatory remarks follow:

"I thought that I could not be with you tonight because I had so many things that I had set out to do today. But I decided that it would be wise to come since I understood that there had been some attacks made. And I believe that it is a great mistake not to stand up for people, even when you differ with them, if you feel that they are trying to do things that will help in our country.

"I think we have become a little too much afraid of what certain groups may say. It is true that sometimes we may make mistakes; sometimes people nowadays have to think more carefully than they used to. I can remember a time when you didn't really have to worry very much about the people you happened to meet. You do now, apparently. But I don't like that.

"I think we should try not to make mistakes. Having tried to avoid mistakes, if we decide to do something which certain groups may attack us for, the attack should not be accepted without proof. This is one of the things that I think we are suffering from in these days —accusations which do their harm before they can be disproved.

"One of the things we must be concerned about today is to preserve our own freedom. I think that it is essential to learn that while we have to fight against things that we consider wrong, we should not do it through fear. We should do it through intelligent education."

First Need: Resettlement

By MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The subject of the evening is one in which I am very much interested because I have just been briefly in three Arab states and in Israel. I could not possibly know a great deal after the short time that I was there, but I have had considerable contact with people from those countries in the United Nations and through that contact I have learned some things.

Reason no longer really operates when you arrive at a point of emotion such as has been reached between the Arab States and Israel. Israel, strangely, is more objective—though perhaps it is not really so strange, because it is always easier for persons to remain objective when they have the edge in their favor. And I think that, in the war between the Arabs and Israel, probably Israel had the edge in its favor.

I sit in a United Nations committee, the Humanitarian, Educational and Cultural Committee, where I think we should behave as charitably as possible and at least preserve the amenities. The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. representatives manage to say good morning to each other, even though as a rule, between times, we attack each other quite vigorously. The Israeli delegate sits between two Arab delegates and I have never known the Arab representatives to say good morning, or apparently to recognize that the Israeli delegate exists. That is not exactly conducive to the best sort of cooperation!

But once you have been in the Near Eastern countries, the impression you come away with is that if the United Nations succeeds in resettling those poor, wretched Arab refugees, who are in worse camps than almost any I have ever seen, then there would be a chance of getting somewhere. And there is nothing to be done *but* to resettle them. They have been trained both by Communists who have come in and by the Arab leaders to get hold of you wherever you meet them and to tell you: "We want to go home." You know it is a slogan, because they say it in unison. Most of them do not talk English, but you walk into a school room and all the little boys get up together and say "We want to go home." And you know quite well there is no home for them to go to in most cases.

If finally they are resettled, I think the logic of the situation will gradually bring about Arab-Israel cooperation. And nothing is more desirable, because Israel has a great deal of administrative and organizing ability, and would be in a position to help.

In the Arab states there is a stirring. Here are countries that have just recently become free; they are very nationalistic because their freedom is a new thing. The leaders have not had much training as yet in administration and organization. Their people as a whole want not just to exist any longer; they want to live. Their governments know that, but they do not quite know how to meet these desires for an improved standard of living. I think if one could just transfer a little of the ability to administer and organize into the Arab governments, their business circles, their agriculture, one would find the problems of the Arab countries solving themselves very rapidly.

Israel at present probably has the greatest capacity in the area for using any aid that comes to it, and if the Israelis could help in the development of other countries, I think it would be the way to remove the fear that the Arabs have. The Arabs are not very logical because in one breath they tell you, "We are impressed by the fact that Israel is receiving all this immigra-

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tion. Israel is a very small country and some fine day they are going to be crowded and they are going to take us over." Then in the next breath they say, "Ah, but the Arabs have long memories and some day we will drive the Israeli people into the sea." Well, the two just do not go together. It is not logical.

So you are left with the feeling that you have to live through the present period, you have to put everything you can into trying to clear up the refugee situation, and then perhaps, with help from the rest of the world, you may get the cooperation which will make of the Near East a stabilizing element which is badly needed in that area. Once you have cooperation, I believe Israel can make its best contribution and the Arab States can develop and be a real factor for peace in the world.

Need for Boldness

By ESTES KEFAUVER
U. S. Senator from Tennessee

Peace, like the world, is no longer divisible. That is why unrest in any part of the world carries with it the seeds of danger to all of us. Today, in an area of over one million square miles, there are seeds of unrest which profoundly endanger our own peace and security.

An armistice exists between Israel and the Arab states, but it is significant that although that armistice has been in existence for four years, no formal settlement of the Palestine war has taken place.

It is clear that the democratic world, especially the United States, has a role to play in this situation—a role which it has not yet played with either boldness or imagination. That role is to create a policy which makes it clear that the democratic world is deeply concerned with the Middle East and with the settlement of the Palestine war. Obviously, that settlement can come about only by direct negotiations between the parties in interest. But the democratic world can make it clear why it wishes that settlement to take place and thus to influence, in a constructive way, the approach to a settlement by both sides.

The Western world needs both Israel and the Arab world. If there is a price on peace in the Middle East, that price must be no less than security.

Estes Kefauver

The power of resistance is in the minds of men and not primarily in their weapons. Until we have captured the loyalty of the Arab peoples, we have not arranged for our security or theirs, simply through the acquisition of military bases. The way to capture the loyalty of the Arab peoples is through a demonstration to them of the vitality, resiliency, adaptability, and dynamics of democracy at work for their benefit. A bold, imaginative program, initiated by the United States, based on the concepts of democracy and adapted to the needs of the backward peoples, could, at one and the same time, fufill the needs of the peoples, develop one of the richest areas of the world, and satisfy our strategic needs.

Because this can be undertaken, two things are necessary: (1) That the concept of the democratic world should be geared to security, not alone in terms of military bases, but in terms of the loyalty of peoples. (2) That stability be established in the area itself to make such a plan possible.

A first requirement for stability is the settlement of the Arab-Israel war. The time has come for both sides to recognize that each exists and is there to stay.

With respect to Israel, it seems more than foolish to me to think that a country four years old, still struggling to maintain its economic balance, occupying a tiny quarter of the world of some 8,500 square miles, and with a population of less than 2,000,000, could be a threat to seven Arab states occupying an area of more than 1,000,000 square miles, with a population of some 36,000,000. If the fears are real, then there is one way of assuring that the so-called expansionist aims of Israel shall not be realized. It is to settle the Arab-Israel war by formal agreement.

Arab-Israel peace is indispensable to the Western world if only on the narrow grounds that the Western world cannot depend upon military arrangements which do not include both the Arabs and the Israelis. And it is clear that the Arab world will not, assuming there are no other reasons, be a party to a regional pact including Israel as long as it believes that a state of belligerency exists.

Up until now the Western world, wishing for peace, has done little to promote that peace. It can no longer delay taking sides for peace, not by way of favor to Israel or the Arab world. It can take sides for peace in the interests of the people of the whole area and the relevant security of the rest of us. It can place a price on peace—the offer of helping the Middle East to emerge into the twentieth century by the road of democracy.

Steps to Stability

By Dr. E. A. SPEISER, Chairman,
Department of Oriental Studies,
University of Pennsylvania

The Near East is the world's traditional center of gravity. Freedom and sanity have the greatest possible stake in the global center of gravity. The precarious balance between an uneasy truce and a total war can be upset most readily in that sensitive region. Continued tension between Israel and the Arab states is an irritant that should not be underestimated. Peace in the Near East is not just a dutiful slogan but a doubly urgent need.

A patient may be cured when his illness has been diagnosed correctly. This has not been done by and large so far as the ailing Near East is concerned. The situation is made to order for political medicine men. They may be inspired

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by ulterior motives, ignorance, or honest conviction. In any case, the results are doomed to be negative. In 1947 these healers knew but one theme: Palestine. Cure that sore and all your troubles in the Near East will vanish! When the Anglo-Iranian dispute reached its climax last year, the label on the cure-all was changed to promise relief from oil troubles. And a little later, when the scene had shifted to Egypt, the old Suez formula was dusted off.

It should be amply clear by now that none of these three diagnoses could be the exclusive answer to the problems of the Near East. Common to all the Arab states is the stark proverty of the vast majority of the people.

In the world of today stagnation can only mean steady retrogression. With conditions growing progressively worse instead of better, even docile and apathetic populations cannot always be counted upon to remain in check.

The stability of the Near East is vital to the stability of the world; any help towards the goal is no more than a question of enlightened self-interest. We must face the problems of the Near East in the order of their importance. The Arab-Israel issue has knocked things badly out of focus. Responsible magazines in this country still sound as though little else mattered. Millions of their readers have been given the impression that Israel won the war only because of the active help of the United States and Britain. They have forgotten that diplomatic recognition alone does not win wars; that Britain backed the Arabs to the bitter end; and that in the last analysis it was internal Arab weakness more than any other factor that caused the Arab defeat. For the same reason it is the Arab states rather than Israel that can now be seen gravitating toward communism in spite of the confident predictions to the contrary which we all heard five years ago. Nor is the frequent claim justified that our influence in the Near East suffered an irreparable blow as a result of the Palestine war. Britain's die-hard pro-Arab policy utterly failed to produce the expected dividends. The prevailing hostility to the West cannot be ascribed to any single factor.

In terms of foreign policy, two extreme moves have recently been proposed in regard to the Near East. One looks to arming the Arabs to the teeth in a desperate move to stop the spread of communism. Nothing is less likely to have the desired effect. Even if the Arabs could be made ten times as strong as they now are, their combined armies could not hold up Russia for many days if it came to a show of arms. The only ones to benefit, although no more than temporarily, would be the forces now in power. A good method, in short, to make the Near East ripe, if not safe for communism.

The other policy has found a persuasive advocate in Justice William O. Douglas. Mr. Douglas wants us to declare ourselves openly in favor of a revolution against feudalism and to promote such a revolution actively. But by completely repudiating the existing ruling elements we can only precipitate chaos, and with it the very kind of power vacuum that beckons to the 'isms which we wish to contain.

It follows that a constructive policy for the Near East must envisage two stages. The first would be a transitional one, designed to stop the existing imbalance from getting worse. The cry of interference is certain to be raised but could safely be discounted in advance. The next stage would involve a long-term scheme calculated to aid and develop liberal forces—accompanied by the hope that the lid will stay on long enough.

But neither plan can succeed unless based on a full and resolute agreement among the major Western powers. The real change, of course, must come from within, preferably through gradual evolution. Only then could the Near East and the West meet on a basis of mutual respect and understanding, as partners in a common enterprise.

Peace Program

By CLARENCE PICKETT

Honorary Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, 1947 Co-Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

In the eyes of the Arabs we have surrendered the position of neutrality. But this is no excuse for our not doing everything we can to bring peace to the Middle East. For it is quite true that there will be no stability in that part of the world until there is peace there. And so long as there is no stability in the Middle East, this cannot but disturb the peace of the entire world.

Clarence Pickett

It is my judgment that peace will come between these two contending parties by piecemeal, and the most important first step I should consider to be a settlement of claims to property owned by Arab refugees now remaining in the state of Israel.

I have talked with an Arab merchant who lived in Jaffa who told me that he left behind a dry goods store with a stock valued at $100,000. He was told by the Arab radio that the Jewish-Arab war would only last a short time, perhaps two weeks, that the Arabs would drive the Jews out of Palestine, when he could return and continue in his business, but he has never heard anything of that business since that time. He ought to have compensation for his loss. I am fully conscious that a much larger number of Jews who left Europe are in a similar position. The move now under way to determine compensation to Jews for property loss, especially in Germany and Austria, must not be allowed to fail. I know that Jews have left Iraq with no adjustment thus far for their possessions left behind. This whole question of compensation is one of international significance.

Closely allied to this is the question of boundaries. A permanent settlement of this question will no doubt be diffi-

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cult. The Arabs look upon the heavy immigration coming into Israel with apprehension; they fully expect that there will be attempts to push those boundaries outward, under the claim of *lebensraum*. I am not saying that they are justified in this belief, but the conviction is there; it will not be allayed until boundaries are settled.

Equally important is the resettlement of the Arab refugee. He is now starting his fourth year as a pauper and a wanderer. At the sixth assembly of the United Nations, authorization was given to expend $250,000,000 over the next three years, not only in providing relief for those refugees but in enabling the United Nations agency caring for them to resettle them. But the resistance of the Arab states to such resettlement continues. It is not only because of lack of facilities. Iraq and Syria could to their national advantage absorb most of these families on land most of which is now unproductive. But Arab states have continued their propaganda that the refugee must be permitted to return to his home in Israel. I do not myself see how it is possible for any considerable number to return because of the heavy population already settled there. I suggest that a commission made up of refugees themselves, selected by the United Nations, should be permitted to visit Israel to see what is going on, determining for themselves whether it would be feasible, wise, or possible for Arab refugees to resettle inside the state of Israel. It is my expectation that it would further the willingness of the Arab states to permit resettlement elsewhere of those who say that they have concluded they do not want to return to Israel, but wish to establish themselves in one or the other of the Arab states.

It seems to me that the suggestion of Charles Malik of Lebanon might well be taken seriously by both government and private groups in the United States, in thinking in terms of a very great expansion of modern education.

Closely allied to this is the importance of missions of religion of various kinds in this part of the world. It is my conviction that there will not be peace in the Middle East as long as we think purely in terms of economic and political development and secular education.

The development of what we usually know as technical assistance or Point Four in this part of the world is of very great importance; and yet, if it is simply carrying technical skills to the Middle East without a recognition of the sensitivity of those to whom the representatives of technical skills go, it is likely to be resisted. Certainly it will be resisted, and in my judgment appropriately so, if it is put in terms of purchasing their allegiance as allies in a power struggle.

United Nations Role

By FREDA KIRCHWEY
Editor of The Nation

Peace between Israel and the Arab states would be a bulwark against international intrigue, against the attempt of various partisan interests to use the miseries and wrongs of the peoples as cards in the game of Cold War. Security in that region is not to be found in bases, by themselves, nor in deals and pacts, nor in the control of oil resources or sea routes. These may look substantial and reassuring to the nations that control them, but they are in fact no stronger than the human situation that surrounds them: the political stability of the countries themselves, the relations among them, and the health and well-being and prospects of the peoples in them.

External activities looking toward peace or toward social and economic improvement should be centered in the United Nations—including those financed by the United States. The United Nations is still the only viable instrument for mediation, conciliation, and also for the technical and financial assistance so desperately required by the countries around the Eastern Mediterranean.

I do not excuse the stubborn and unreasonable attitude of the Arab states when I say that their intransigence on the issue of peace with Israel is partly grounded in justified resentment at the reluctance of the great Western nations to accept the meaning of the revolution that today threatens colonialism and imperialism in all their forms.

Only the Western powers themselves can end that resentment and, in the effort to do so, the United States must inevitably take the lead. What we need is a new foreign policy in that whole turbulent and sensitive area, one which backs the struggle against colonial control and foreign financial domination and at the same time encourages, within that process, the even more fundamental revolt against ancient and evil practices of land ownership and human exploitation.

The tragic aspect of the Arab attitude is that in the matter of Israel it tends to defeat its own quite legitimate end. For peace with Israel would bring to the Arab states many benefits and few sacrifices. Once peace was achieved, these states would find that they had no stronger support anywhere for their proper national ambitions than in Israel itself, while the stimulus to trade and to other sorts of economic progress would be beyond computation. Today these facts are obscured by the fog of resentment and hostility that hangs over Arab-Israel relations.

How is this fog to be dispelled? The first and most important step would be the opening of direct negotiations on specific issues between Israel and its neighbors. The last two years have surely proved that no real agreements can be achieved until Arabs and Israelis sit down together, whether in the presence of a mediator or alone. Through direct diplomatic interchange, I am convinced, common interests would emerge, producing workable compromises on the main points dividing Israel and its neighbors.

A settlement of the refugee problem can be arrived at only on the basis of recognition by the Arabs that no considerable number of Arab refugees can be repatriated in Israel.

A most earnest effort must be made by the Israelis to convince their Arab neighbors of what, to be sure, they long ago officially promised, namely, that a generous program of compensation for properties lost by refugees—a reciprocal program, of course, since Jewish refugees from Arab countries must obviously be included—will promptly be formulated and carried out.

The Israelis must remove any honest fears that may still exist among the Arab states that Israel intends to try to expand by force its present uncomfortably narrow boundaries.

Admission that Israel does and will continue to exist, combined with willingness to *meet* and to *talk*, would provide the first bit of convincing proof that the Arab world does want peace rather than a state of suspended war.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The British Case

THE STRUGGLE FOR EUROPE. By Chester Wilmot. Harper and Brothers. $5.

WE HAVE now reached the reverse-lend-lease stage in the matter of military criticism. Until recently accounts of the war in Western Europe such as those of Ingersoll, Eisenhower, and Bradley presented it largely from an American point of view. Two of these authors, Ingersoll and Bradley, were sharply critical of British strategy, tactics, and military leadership. In the five published volumes of Churchill's monumental "History of the Second World War," he has been critical of American political and military leadership only in the fifth volume. The Prime Minister has been careful, however, to make his criticisms of military operations *solely* on military grounds. Thus it remained for Mr. Wilmot, an Australian war correspondent, to make the first presentation of what has been called "the British case."

Reduced to its simplest terms, this case holds that while we Americans were excellent producers of military machines, we lacked military sophistication in the matter of their employment. In plain language we did not know where to operate the planes, tanks, ships, and divisions we produced *during* the war in order to gain the greatest political advantage and military security *after* the war. The Marshall-Eisenhower strategy of a cross-channel attack and a broad-front advance into Germany made it impossible for the Allies to defeat Hitler in 1944. Our northern route into Germany allowed the Red Army to occupy every capital in Eastern and Southeastern Europe except Athens. The destruction visited upon Western Europe in the course of our campaigns prevented the emergence of any balance against Russia after the war. We defeated Hitler in such a way as to ensure the triumph of Stalin. In the Far East (which is not properly within the sphere of Mr. Wilmot's volume) our determination to prevent a revival of colonialism hampered the British. Thus, in one way or another, most of the evils of the present-day world are traceable to the strategical blindness and military ineptness of Roosevelt's war-time advisers: Marshall, Arnold, King, and Eisenhower.

In dealing with a book as massive, as thoroughly documented, and as clearly written as that of Mr. Wilmot, three warnings may be in order. First, one should remember that the size of a book has nothing to do with the soundness of its message. Secondly, the fact that an author has read all the printed literature in a given field does not automatically make him a dependable guide to that literature. And finally, it is helpful to recall that "clearness is so pre-eminently a characteristic of truth that it often passes for truth itself."

Mr. Wilmot has given us one of the finest accounts available of operations in Western Europe, but he has attempted to use this splendid operational history as a scaffolding to hold up the superstructure of an untenable political thesis.

The Wilmot thesis that the triumph of communism in Eastern and Southeastern Europe was primarily due to the refusal of Roosevelt and his military advisers to follow British strategical advice simply will not bear examination. He criticizes the action which men took in 1941-45 on the basis of the knowledge they possessed *at that time* but he makes his criticism in the light of fuller knowledge in 1951. Mr. Churchill, a writer with considerably greater experience in the field of military history, long ago adopted a policy of never criticizing any politico-military decision *after the event* unless he had submitted a warning against it in writing *before* the decision was taken.

What man in Britain or America knew enough about Russian capacities and intentions in 1941-43 to justify basing our fundamental strategy for 1944-45 on the assumption that Communist Russia would present an immediate post-war threat to Western Europe? Did Mr. Churchill, who helped Tito to attain control of Yugoslavia, know that communism was going to be a more dangerous menace than fascism? Did the journalists, the men of Mr. Wilmot's profession, warn us *at that time* against the Communist threat to come? Some, I am sorry to say, of those who screamed for a second front in 1942-43 out of fear that Russia might succumb to the German attack, now complain that Marshall and Eisenhower should have conducted the war primarily to check Russia.

Mr. Wilmot's book stops with the end of hostilities in Europe in 1945. He therefore does not cover the period of Allied demobilization which contributed much more to the triumph of communism in Eastern and Southeastern Europe than the matter of where our armies fought during the war. The fate of Czechoslovakia in 1948 plainly shows that unless Britain and the United States were willing to maintain armies large enough to offset the effect of the Red Army, and unless we were prepared to keep large bodies of troops in long-term occupation of these areas, it would not have helped much to have liberated the countries concerned. It was the power vacuum created by the demobilization of the Allied armies that permitted Soviet Russia to dominate Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

Mr. Wilmot really knows this. For, after writing seven hundred pages of special pleading to make a case against Roosevelt's administration of the war, he admits that there was "an element of the inevitable" about the Soviet triumph after the war. He is forced to conclude that neither the British nor the American governments could have won public support for a policy of conducting the war against Hitler with the secondary objective of checking Stalin. In the last few pages of his book, Mr. Wilmot actually draws some comfort from the American blunders during the war. For, he says, "the Americans had to find out for themselves that to strive for victory alone is not enough and that the balance of power must be the basis of peace. They had to learn from their own experience the difficulty of dealing with the Russians. They had to extend the hand of friendship and have it spurned. . . . In the years following

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the war, Truman's policy of firmness and preparedness—and of generous economic and military support for Europe—would hardly have commanded such wide public support in the United States, if Roosevelt had not so diligently and sincerely sought to win the trust and cooperation of the Soviet Union."

If Mr. Wilmot had said this at the beginning of his book and then devoted his unmistakable talents to writing a strictly operational narrative, all students of military affairs would have been indebted to him. They would even have forgiven him for his marked bias in favor of Field Marshal Montgomery.

H. A. DE WEERD

Men and History

HISTORY AND HUMAN RELATIONS. By Herbert Butterfield. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THE comments of an urbane and cultured man upon his craft almost always make for good reading, and this latest volume by the eminent historian Herbert Butterfield is no exception. "History and Human Relations" contains eight essays, each of them dealing with a particular problem in historiography or the philosophy of history. It is a very *professional* book, not in the sense that the layman cannot profit by it, but in the sense that it presents reflections drawn from long experience in a particular endeavor.

The title implies the unifying theme. The author continually calls attention to the fact that individuals, with all their different emotions and prejudices, are after all the source of history. They are neither completely the products of their past nor the autonomous makers of their future, but the worst mistake a historian can make, says Butterfield, is to forget that human beings are emotionally complex. Man, if not the measure of all things, is at least the measure of history, and in the light of this belief Butterfield examines such questions as the Marxist approach to history, "official" histories issued by governments, and the extent to which the historian can make moral judgments in his writing. He always points out the limitations of his craft, showing that histories, and not *a* history, can be produced.

Perhaps the book is best described by part of a sentence found in it: ". . . in teaching or reading or writing history the richest wisdom and the finest educational nourishment come from . . . the comments that are made in asides, the places where private views and the results of personal experience leak out, the things, shrewd and intimate, that a teacher throws in just for love."

CARL F. HOVDE

Faithful Disciple?

THIS CROOKED WAY. By Elizabeth Spencer. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

MISS SPENCER'S second novel is interesting for several reasons; while she is in her own right a talented and skilful member of the Southern regional group who have attracted so much attention during the last decade, she seems perfectly content to work within the confines of a strictly Faulknerian scene, a faithful disciple of the master.

Her protagonist, Amos Dudley, who wrests a fortune from the rich Delta cotton country, is seen at successive stages of his compulsive career through the eyes of his boyhood friend, his wife's sister's child, his wife, and finally through his own eyes. This is a difficult technique to handle, and Miss Spencer carries it off with verve, giving us a series of oblique views of the central figure from the varied perspectives of those who thought they understood him best.

But the relations between people are so much akin to those which bind the members of Faulkner's society that there are times when the reader may be forgiven for suspecting that this novel is an extended parody. Everyone is profoundly concerned with motives, even though the motivations are never fully revealed, and even the most illiterate and incoherent hint darkly to one another of motives that are marvelously subtle and intellectually intricate.

This technique is carried over into the texture of the prose itself. There are pages when it is Miss Spencer's own, and very effective too, but there are also paragraphs which seem to have come straight from Faulkner without pause for individual identification. Amos says: "One [desire] was to see Ary's face again like I saw it that first day above the horse's mane, like a face not in the world, though it had been in the world all right, but was by her own will and nothing else whipped up clean above the world and outside, knowing she ought not to be out there with just men showing off that mare and in her own pride not caring, and in her own pride being proud of the mare, and of herself too, so that not even my pride in her which got so out of hand could quite manage to unsettle her."

The question which has not been answered in "This Crooked Way," but which may possibly be clarified in Miss Spencer's future writing, is whether really fruitful creative work can be done by novelists who appropriate whole the seductive but highly individual cosmology of William Faulkner.

HARVEY SWADOS

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Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

WASSILY KANDINSKY (1866-1944) is on view at Knoedler's (through June 6) in twenty-six paintings lent by his widow and never before exhibited in New York. Although this exhibition is only half of what was recently shown in Boston at the Institute of Contemporary Art, twenty-four of the other canvases are accessible to New Yorkers, since they have returned to their permanent home in the Museum of *Non-Objective Art*.

Despite these losses, the current exhibition affords a nearly adequate coverage of Kandinsky's work in its major phases. The earliest examples, L'air clair and La vielle ville, date from 1902; the latest, from two years before his death. The Fauve period, which for Kandinsky was about 1908, is well represented, as is the work of the final twenty years. There are good examples from 1910, the year of his first Improvisations (and the year of his book, "On the Spiritual in Art"). But there is nothing between 1910 and 1915, and only two examples between 1916 and 1920; and as only two others from the withdrawn canvases came from this decade, there was in Boston and there is here a decided gap, all the more unfortunate because this was Kandinsky's most daringly original period and probably his most creative. In the twenties, however, he continued in the same rich vein of freely moving forms exploding against strong diagonal braces and enlivened with textural interest. After 1930, or thereabouts, Kandinsky's designs hardened. The ruled line replaced the freely brushed contour; the flat, blond tone, the resonantly pigmented area. In addition, the scale came down from something broadly mural to something diminutive and fussy. Despite the grand synthesis claimed for these late works by the faithful, they are, in my opinion, merely pretty abstractions, without poetic content, and with more mechanical than formal interest. Some of them fetched up recollections of scenery for the Chauve Souris (Parade of the Wooden Soldiers might almost be substituted as a title for Transparent, 1942). And all suggested the drier phases of work at the Bauhaus, where Kandinsky taught from the early 'twenties until 1934.

In a recent biography of her late husband, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy accentuates the fact that Kandinsky belonged to the older generation of the Bauhaus faculty. She quotes a student of the time: "So Moholy came to Weimar as 'the champion of youth', as we labeled him in contrast to the old faculty members Kandinsky, Feininger, and Klee who were between forty and fifty-five." Unlike Feininger and Klee, however, Kandinsky appears to have been strongly affected by the idiom of the younger Bauhaus artists in his own late work, even after political events had forced the Bauhaus to suspend operations. This late phase of his art, whatever its source, had little connection with the positive forces of his own previous work. It seems to have been grafted on, quite arbitrarily.

That Kandinsky developed slowly out of prevailing manners of painting is nothing against him. If he did not reach artistic maturity until he was past forty, neither did Goya nor Cézanne. But the early works are surprisingly unoriginal for so original a painter, and even the vaunted Fauve works of 1908 depend so heavily on French precedent, plus an admixture of Russian folk colorations, like juxtaposed magentas, tangerines, and violets, that it is not unjust to call them Folk Fauves. Apparently, the elimination of subject matter was indispensable for Kandinsky's art to evolve. Recent unpublished studies of his work have contrived to show a development of motives and habits of design, and so give a sense of momentum to the career. But the break which came around 1910 was nevertheless very sudden, and, in my opinion, its motivation was not sufficiently a pictorial one. Kandinsky's elimination of subject was, in its way, as literary as the discovery of a new subject, or of the discovery of Byron by Delacroix. The point I am arriving at so laboriously is that Kandinsky launched his new art on an idea, and that this is dangerous procedure for a painter. Simultaneously, he expounded the idea in a book, "On the Spiritual in Art." After 1910, his paintings depend on communion with mystical essences. For me, always skeptical of cosmic attempts in painting, it is something of a wonder that they are so often good paintings, freighted as they are with so much transcendental cargo.

It is important to distinguish between Kandinsky's ideas and his art. The former, which have enormously influenced the course of modern painting, for better and for worse, are at the root of the Kandinsky legend. The art, clouded by the legend, is too much worshipped and too little understood. Moholy-Nagy was right, I think, when he found Kandinsky's art in fundamental contrast to his own, because Kandinsky's "reminded me of an undersea world." One of the most beautiful of these sub-marines is a gray one (En gris, 1919), in poetically muted tones. Like the sea, Kandinsky is most intelligible on a vast scale: his small canvases are not only crowded but stunted in effect. He must have the liberation of vast space, but having it, he is in constant danger of going amorphous, like the sea's counter-currents. Personality easily drowns in them.

The visitor will not miss in Kandinsky's work numerous contemporary overtones. It is extraordinary how mid-twentieth century the best of these canvases seem. But it would be a bad mistake to conclude that the similarities are more than superficial, and that the younger abstract expressionists are merely his imitators. Several of them surpass him in physical sensuousness, or in mural force, or in the ability to weave space with pigment. Emily Genauer pointed out in a recent review that Trente (six times five black and white squares) is compartmented like an Adolf Gottlieb. But this is a late Kandinsky (1937), and Gottlieb has never shown signs of committing his soul to a checkerboard of any such rigidity.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

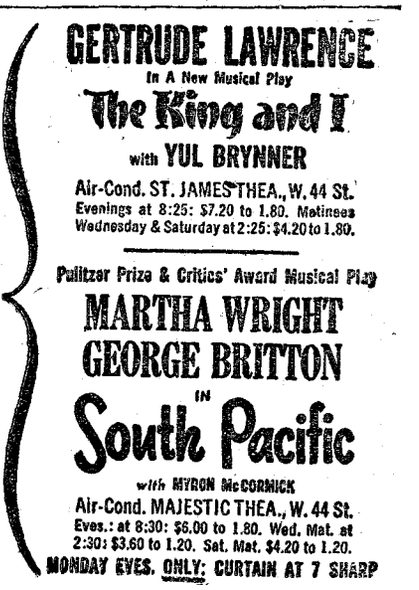
WRITING about the listener's experience of music—and writing here as diffusely and obscurely as elsewhere in his book "The Musical Experience"—Roger Sessions distinguishes four stages in its development: first, hearing ("following . . . the music in its continuity"), then enjoyment, then understanding ("He needs to be aware of the progression of the bass as well as the treble line; of a return to the principal key or to a subsidiary key; of a far-flung tonal span . . . as events which his ear witnesses and appreciates as a composition unfolds"), and finally discrimination. And with discrimination the listener becomes a critic: "The critic is, in fact, the listener who has become articulate, who has learned to put his judgments and his values into words."

This statement about the critic is correct as far as it goes, but incomplete. One thing to add is the assumption underlying the critic's public articulateness—that he can give his readers the benefit of powers as a listener greater than their own; another is the fact that these are greater powers not only of discrimination but of hearing and understanding. That is, to the listener who must witness and appreciate the course of events in a piece of music the critic is able to point out the "progression of the bass line," the "far-flung tonal span," and other details which the listener might otherwise not be aware of. (The primary and important aim of criticism, E. M. Forster has said, is to "consider the object in itself, as an entity, and tell us what it can about its life.")

But here we come to an interesting fact about Mr. Sessions's book. Writing about the musical experience of the composer, the performer, the listener, he has described the activity of each in relation to the course of events in a piece of music; and if this scheme of the book were continued with the critic Mr. Sessions would say that the course of events—which has been created by the composer and recreated by the performer, and which must be apprehended by the listener—is pointed out to the listener by the critic. Actually, however, Mr. Sessions, when he comes to discuss the critic, departs from the scheme of the book and says nothing about any activity of the critic in relation to the course of events in the piece of music, or even to its value. For Mr. Sessions the critic's "true function" is the exercise of powers of discrimination developed "to the point where he becomes conscious of values in a generalized sense" and can "contribute strongly to musical life through illumination of the real issues which are vital in any particular time and place." And in a state of hoarse moral fervor he summons the critic to his high duty. Formerly, he says, when our music was the imported product of a tradition developed elsewhere and the critic's task was to interpret that tradition to the American public, he had merely to "take due note of judgments and values that had already reached maturity elsewhere. Today, with the ever-increasing development of a rich musical life of our own, he is forced to swim in more perilous waters and to discover values of his own. It is small wonder that he often shows a certain reluctance to do this and takes refuge in writing long columns on the season's sixth performance of 'Tristan,' or indulging, to cite a ghastly example I shall never forget, in vituperation of Critic B because the latter had written an unfavorable review of a book by Critic C, of whom Critic A (the author of the review in question) approved because he (Critic C) had written disparagingly of Critic D's book on Mozart. A veritable tangle of critics, with poor Mozart, in this case representing the only actual music involved in the whole matter, four steps away!"

I was about to say that Mr. Sessions's idea of the situation fifty years ago—that the score of a European symphony was imported for the conductor together with a little box of European values for the critic—hadn't the sightest relation to reality, when I realized that there probably were critics who accepted any European work unthinkingly. But there were others who operated as a critic should—who listened for what life they could themselves discover in the symphony and made their own evaluations of it. That is what the critic does today when he is confronted with a new symphony by an American. And today when he writes a long column on the season's sixth "Tristan" it isn't because he shrinks from the task of discovering the life in that symphony, but because a new singer named Flagstad is singing in "Tristan" for the first time and this too is something which calls for critical evaluation. So does a book about music, and it wasn't because I shrank from the task of dealing with Mozart's music (I had, only a couple of months earlier, dealt with the unfamiliar Concerto K.503 which Schnabel had played in New York for the first time) that I wrote the review of Einstein's "Mozart" in which I began with the observation that reviews of books sometimes were amusing performances to watch; cited the example of Virgil Thomson's "The Musical Scene" being condescended to in the *Times* by Mark Schubart; explained that I wasn't condescending to Mr. Schubart's youth but thinking of the quality of his own critical writing; went on to say that the performances on Einstein's book had been staggering, but that Thomson, whose reviews of books were usually poor, had made the only perceptive comment I had seen on this one; quoted his comment; and then took off from it with my own comments on the book. An untangled progression of thought; the "veritable tangle of critics" being what Mr. Sessions made of it (in a lecture a few years later at the Juilliard School of which Mr. Schubart was now Dean).

Which brings me to my last point.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Taking the critic's primary task to be the illumination not of issues but of the object—the piece of music, the book, the review of a book—that he has before him, I would say that this task imposes on him a duty: the duty of describing this object accurately, which means the duty of looking at it with an eye unaffected by friendship, by animosity, by appreciation or anticipation of a favor, or by anything else of this sort. Criticism, in other words, is one of the forms of human behavior, in which the critic has the duty, simply, of behaving honorably, and which does, then, involve moral issues. Not the issues Mr. Sessions is concerned with, but others which he seems to be unaware of.

Letters to the Editors

Daniel De Leon

Dear Sirs: Daniel De Leon, the great American Marxist, and the man who conceived the principles and program of Socialist Industrial Unionism, was born on December 14, 1952. This year, accordingly, is the centennial anniversary of his birth.

The Socialist Labor Party, of which Daniel De Leon was the intellectual founder, opened the De Leon Centennial celebration with a banquet in the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York on May 3. Among the speakers who paid deserved homage to De Leon at this celebration were Arnold Petersen, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of America, and Leonard Cotton, distinguished British De Leonist and National Secretary of the S. L. P. of Great Britain.

Your readers, who are certainly more than ordinarily interested in De Leon and his achievements, should be especially interested in his great contributions to the Socialist cause. We will gladly send them a free copy of the De Leon Centennial issue of the Weekly People upon request.

The De Leon centennial celebration coincided with the Socialist Labor Party's twenty-third national convention, at which it launched its sixteenth Presidential campaign, nominating the undersigned for President and Stephen Emery for Vice President.

ERIC HASS,
Editor, *Weekly People*
New York

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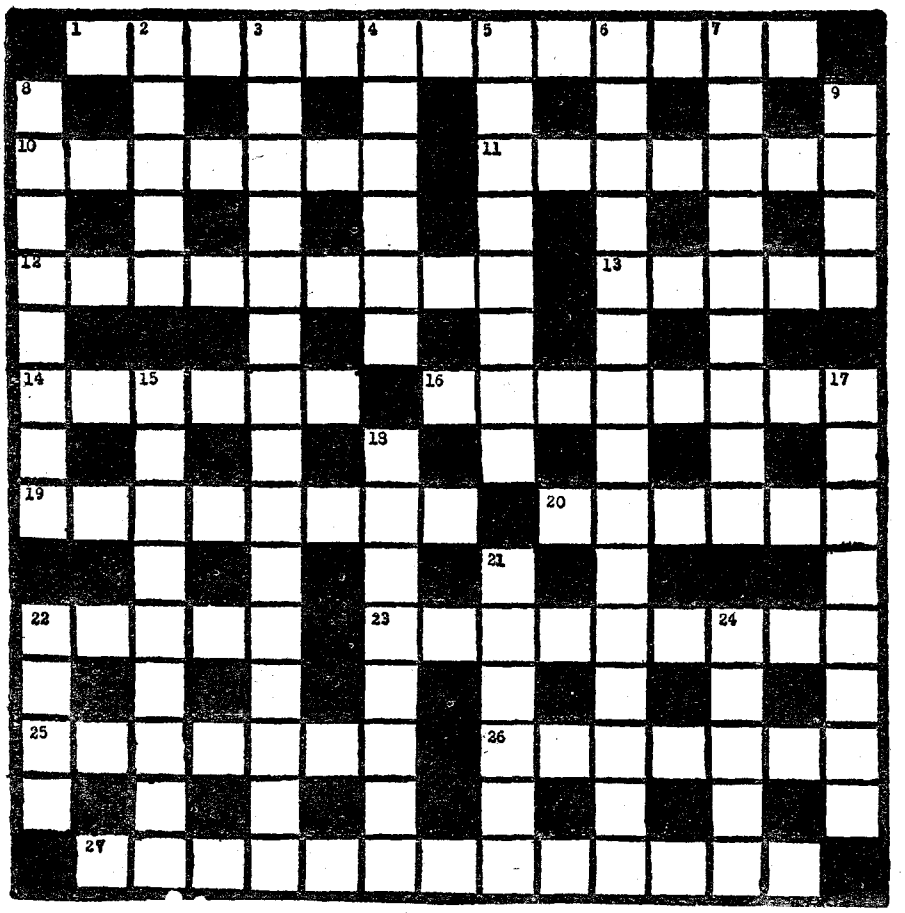
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Chief obstacle to the vision of April? (4–2–3–4)
10 No feeling, perhaps. (7)
11 Is the Thin Man's dog able to find game? (7)
12 Concerning relations with some Frenchmen, for example, a decade ago. (9)
13 Carriages responsible for a rebellion. (5)
14 Such a policy shouldn't lead to an immediate engagement. (6)
16 Put a different coat on in the Irish fen! (8)
19 Settle in oxygen's concentration. (8)
20 Silver spike? It might make your finger hurt. (6)
22 This sort of log is found in Connaught. (5)
23 Are such loans never obtained? (9)
25 Mr. Baba in repose sees things as they are! (7)
26 The revolutionary seems to hurry up to heaven. (7)
27 A suggestion of drink might be associated with the head of it. (5, 9)

DOWN

2 "O thou weed!
Who are so lovely fair and smell'st so sweet
That the sense _____ at thee, would thou hadst ne'er been born."—(*Othello*) (5)
3 Being this sort of collector is most amusing toil. (15)
4 Sent an exchange to a French city. (6)
5 The plural form was a book peddler. (8)
6 Many will be in June, but only a few girls go on to one. (9, 6)
7 Strange that one might find Corsica at a place in Central America? (5, 4)
8 A tune to pilfer? It could make quite a hit. (3, 5)
9 Crazy? Or just a cut-up—but not a kind one! (4)
15 Is not a bad sort of word for the sole punishment! (9)
17 "If all the year were playing _____,
To sport would be as tedious as to work."—(*Henry IV*) (8)
18 Something like hearing of first class stucco! (8)
21 A Babylonian goddess might be the end of 16 to Jack. (6)
22 Might be swell, but sounds anything but free! (4)
24 A famous literary mount doesn't finish after—otherwise bow silently. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 467

ACROSS:—1 DEPILATE; 5 ESCROW; 9 WAR GAME; 10 TAIHOKU; 11 TONSURE; 12 AGROUND; 13 MISSISSIPPIAN; 15 ANIMAL SPIRITS; 21 BRONCHI; 22 EXTREME; 23 GLORIES; 24 AWNINGS; 25 SASHES; 26 HEADSMAN.

DOWN:—1 and 4 DOWN TO THE SEA IN SHIPS; 2 PARONYM; 3 LEAGUES; 6 STIRRUP; 7 RIO MUNI; 8 WOUNDING; 10 TRANSLITERATE; 14 CABBAGES; 16 IGOROTS; 17 ASCRIBE; 18 INTONED; 19 STERNUM; 20 SEASON.

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